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one a piece of land, and to the less favoured a large piece of gold. As the first son complained about his inheritance, his dying father told him that every grain of earth he had left for him was mixed with a grain of gold, and that if he dug well enough he would be able to extract the gold from it. After a lapse of some time the less favoured one squandered his gold, while the other, by 'digging' harder and harder, added to the fertility of his land and thus prospered and was worthy of his father's love. For this reason, the latter was taken as an ideal symbol of filial piety.

As mentioned previously, to have origin in the village is also to have land, and this is reflected in the scheme of the village land. The cultivable land was divided between the descendants of 'On and Musa, the two brothers, who were the heads of the village sections.[1] It is maintained that every ten kasabas (land-measure) of land owned by 'On clansmen is followed by another ten kasabas owned by Musa clansmen. 'If you have no sahm or kirat (land-measure) handed over to you from your ancestors, then you are not a full member of your clan,' Ali stated, 'and two families had to migrate from the village to another village because they had to sell their land. It is the worst lot that can befall any person. It brings disgrace to him to abandon his father's trust, and it also means that he is sinning against his children. There are few people still in the village who have sold their land, and they are like those who have shed their clothes and remained stark naked; both are the two great shame-bringing practices.'

Yet those who are under considerable economic pressure resort to the device of 'land-pawn' which entails the owner's handing over of his land to a man in return for a comparatively large sum of money. The latter tills the land as if it was his possession, to be returned to its original owner on his payment of the debt. Another way of relieving economic distress without actually selling the land is the so-called 'conditional sale', whereupon the owner sells with option to repurchase at a given date.

If selling land is one of the worst social practices, the acquisition of land is naturally the best one. To be able to add to one's inheritance is a sign of parents' approval and content with their son's deeds as well as God's blessing. It is interesting to find children about the age of five or six singing a rhyme, telling how a chicken given to a child by his mother has enabled him in the long run to acquire a 'kirat'—one twenty-fourth of a feddan. The rhyme goes on to say, 'My mother gave me a chicken, the chicken bought me a goose, the goose bought me a small goat, the goat bought me a sheep, the sheep bought me a small donkey, the donkey bought me a cow and the cow bought me a kirat'. There is another version of the same song, differing in what the cow bought for the child, and in the other version he got a 'bride' and the bride got him a 'bridegroom—a son'.[2]

From the point of view of land tenure, the village is a typical example of

[1] See Chapter II for social structure.
[2] The rhyme is occasionally associated with bouncing the ball on the wall.

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867 Such relations and norms governing the relationship between the family members reflect and imply certain ways of behaviour which the child imbibes within the family circle. They also reflect some of the necessary requirements for the harmonious functioning of the various social units. The family in Silwa is one of the fields of teaching, and here more perhaps of learning, some of the standardized social relations and their moral significance.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION IN ACTION

602 Here some of the functions of the social structure have been examined. It is doubtless true that structural norms provide the articulating force in the village society, acting as traffic lights for individual behaviour. They define personal and corporate rights and duties with individuals, families and clans; indicate the extent of emotional involvement, which is expected to be very strong with close relatives, and joint family, fading somewhat in intensity as the kin spreads in the clan. They also specify the kind of relationship with the patrilineal and the matrilineal sides. Differentiation in kinship relations carries with it differentiation of behaviour, rights and obligations, and affective attachments.

Moreover, the individual faces each of life's rejoicings or crises not only by himself but with the support and co-operation of all those related to him either by patrilineal ('asaba), matrilineal (lahma) and in-law (nasab) relationship, or any other intimate ties. The extent and frequency of such a support, and the hierarchical unit that undertakes the help, varies according to the situation envisaged, to the number of close relatives, and to the prestige of the person.

In sickness, for instance, it is worth noting how kinsmen and kinswomen flock to visit a sick person, talk to him, attempt to alleviate his pain, pray for his safety, and give advice and medicine.

602 539 There is a popular song which indicates the amount of security and pride that a sick man derives from being surrounded by his family and people. The song imagines a conversation between a doctor and a sick person, where the doctor asks who is going to pay for the medicine. The sick person is shocked by such a question and instantly replies that he has so many people who will see to it. The song goes on to show how each member of the family offers the doctor something in turn. But in the end the patient dies, because he is so aggravated and embittered by the doctor's question, which implied that he had no people to attend him in such a matter as paying the doctor's fees and medicine charges. 'To have no people' is one of the greatest insults that could be directed to any person. The song goes:

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A sick person asked the doctor to treat him.
The doctor agreed, but enquired as to who was responsible for paying the expenses of treatment.
The sick person replied: 'O doctor, don't think that I am without support.

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I have a thousand people besides my paternal and maternal uncles.'
When the patient's mother heard the conversation, she offered the doctor her necklace and bracelets.
When the father heard about this, he offered his land and property.
When the sister heard about this, she offered her anklets and earrings.
When his people (i.e. joint family) heard about this, they said 'We shall all pay it with no fuss or difficulty'.

This support shows itself not only when the relatives and friends go to visit the sick person in the village, irrespective as to whether the disease is infectious or not, but also when they visit him in hospital in town. If the person recovers from a serious illness, or comes back home after being away for some time, the people go to congratulate him for his recovery or for his return home by saying 'Let us thank God for your safety'.

To take another example, if a cow or a camel has been seriously injured in an accident, it is killed, and the owner's relatives, neighbours, and friends are morally compelled to buy a portion of the meat to part-compensate for the loss. If a person's animal dies he is consoled by others with the invocation 'May God compensate you'.

Death is another major event in which the family finds itself supported by condolences and sympathies of kinsfolk. If the deceased belongs to the category of youngsters, condolence is compulsory on the clan and intimate friends only. If he belongs to the second and third categories of age groups (unmarried or adults) the whole village has to condole with the sufferers. In death, more than in any other event, kinship ties are the most important factor in deciding one's social obligations. It is incumbent on the close relatives both paternal and maternal, as well as in-laws, to stay away from work and remain in the guest house for ten or fifteen days, and frequently sleep there, or in the case of women, in the house of the deceased relative. Close relatives have to assist in conveying the funeral bier to the cemetery, to mourn the deceased more than others, and to send food to the guest house and to the house of the deceased, normally an obligation more upon the clan house-heads and the close maternal relatives than upon any others.

The same solidarities and mutual family and clan obligations manifest themselves on occasions of rejoicing such as birth, circumcision and weddings, by sending gifts, food, by helping in the preparation of the ceremony, or at least by merely attending in the case of men or sending out a joy-cry in the case of women.

Moreover, the social structure functions also as a means of mediation in the sectional frictions that are bound to arise. In the following example, which the writer witnessed, the head members of a clan mediated between

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reluctantly admits the value of story-telling to children, accepts its occurrence at night as a safety valve, as then it would not wreck or endanger the 'puritanic' atmosphere.[1]

The first eleven stories recorded in this study are a common stock for most of the boys and girls in the village, but I found no girl who knew any of the rest of the stories. This is understandable, as these stories are usually related and heard by boys and girls till the age of eleven or twelve, but after this age story-telling among girls is frowned upon and punished. This is the main reason why their stock of tales is meagre compared with that of the boys. Here, as in play, girls are expected to toe the line of adults earlier than boys.

Most of the stories collected were from the compulsory school children. By no means all of them knew the full text of the stories, but most of them at least recognized or felt they knew the first eleven stories. In examining those who had known some of the stories, they repeated them in an almost identical way.

Children normally begin their narration of a story by saying: 'There existed' (Feeh), whereupon the listeners reply, 'God exists' (Allah feeh); older boys and old men would normally begin by, 'It happened and in the past many a thing happened, and upon God we rely' (Kan ya ma kan, wa 'ala allah attuklan).[2] The younger boys finish off by exclaiming, 'I've been to your house and come back, I've eaten the hen before the cock' (Ruht 'indakum wi jeet, akalt al farkha gabl addik).

In the text of the stories and tales, one can find reflections of many of the social, moral and religious norms and attitudes. In the manifest content of the stories, such norms and attitudes as those governing the relationships between members of the family, social expectations, religious aspirations and desire for children are not difficult to discern and need no elaboration.

Moreover, anthropologists and psychologists have also tried to explain the latent content of folk literature, myth and legends. The interpretations of Freudian, Jungian, and other schools of psychology have been occasionally alluded to in the footnotes of the story texts.[3] The orthodox Freudians, as well as the Jungians, because of their racial and generalized interpreta-

[1] With regard to the fact that folk-stories are characteristically told at night, Hermant advances the theory that the choice of night is psychologically significant as after the day's work is finished and both narrator and listeners are tired, their critical powers of thinking, their attention and will are slackened. Thus social activities that are considered inappropriate during the day seem acceptable at night; in the same way certain themes in stories are exclusively acceptable during the evenings, and are incorporated in the folk-tale. See E. J. Lindgren, 'The Collection and Analysis of Folk-Lore', in *The Study of Society*, p. 360.

[2] This beginning is very similar to the way story-tellers in Iraq introduce their stories, as reported by E. S. Stevens, although by omitting 'ya' he misunderstood the meaning of the phrase and translated it as 'There was, there was not'. *Tales of Iraq*, London, 1951.

[3] C. G. Jung and C. Kerenyi, *An Introduction to a Science of Mythology* (translated by R. F. C. Hull), London, 1951.

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tions, take us away from the sociological relevance of fairy tales and folk stories. This approach has been criticised by anthropologists and the neo-Freudians who have a deeper appreciation of the cultural phenomena. Bidney asserts that great myths, for example, are great precisely because they lend themselves to a wide variety of interpretations and thus perform wonders in stimulating the creative imagination.[1] The need is felt to elicit the aid of oral traditions to contribute to the understanding of culture, and for its integration more fully with other cultural data 'to deepen our knowledge of human nature, the functioning of human societies, and the psycho-dynamics of the adjustment of individuals to the exigencies of their culturally constituted worlds'.[2] In the light of this, we have referred to some tales as having 'Oedipus reflections', meaning by that not the Freudian libidinal desires of the infantile situation, but expressions of one of the fundamental aspects of interpersonal relationships, that of the attitude towards authority.[3]

In his formulations of the concept of the 'basic personality structure', Kardiner points out the impact of social institutions on personality development. He has made use of folklore as a check, as well as a lead for the understanding of personality orientations as manifested in different thought processes and sequences, and different fantasy life. Folklore, in his view, is not an expression of general human psychic fantasies, and autochthonous creation, but related to the realities of social situations. Moreover, it expresses the current strains, conflicts and frustrations of the individual and his culture.[4] The fruitfulness of such an approach to folklore is also expressed by Susanne Langer, who maintains that folk tales, whether the animal fable, the trickster story, the ghost story, or the fairy tale, can be regarded as mirroring subjective wishful thinking and reflecting certain cultural frustrations of a given society.[5]

In our analysis of folk and children's tales in Silwa, the formulations of Kardiner are relevant and useful in an attempt to understand some of the problems related to the personality development in this community. We may regard these tales as expressions of trends in the psycho-dynamic

[1] He further claims that no single correct interpretation can be valid for any myth or legend, and that psycho-analysis, by applying their assumptions to them, are but inventing 'scientific myths' of their own. David Bidney, 'Concept of Myth and Psycho-cultural Evolution,' in *American Anthropologist*, Vol. LII, 1950, p. 23. See also R. Linton in his Foreword in Abram Kardiner, *The Individual and His Society*, p. xvii.

[2] A. Irving Hallowell, 'Myth, Culture and Personality', in *American Anthropologist*, Vol. XLIX, 1947, p. 544.

[3] Erich Fromm, *The Forgotten Language (an Introduction to the Understanding of Dreams, Fairy Tales and Myths)*, London, 1952.

[4] Abram Kardiner, *The Individual and His Society*, p. 214. He states that a cursory comparison of the folklore of Trobriand and Kwakiutl culture shows that each is the product of different life goals, different perceptions of institutional realities, different impulses which must be controlled and different methods of controlling them. (p. 127.)

[5] Susanne K. Langer, *Philosophy in a New Key*, 1948, quoted by David Bidney, op. cit., p. 17.

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adjustment of the individual in his society, revealing life goals, desires, fears, tensions of living in this environment.

In the stories in question one may discern the following three basic trends permeating them, or a combination of two or three of them in the same story. The first trend is the constant recurrence of themes of food, especially meat. If children tend to repeat mechanically the text of the tale, they certainly give wide and vivid scope to their imagination when the theme of food crops up during narration. The exclamation of 'Ya salam' is always ready to be uttered when a boy dwells expressively on a food theme in a story and thus gives other children some gratification for their fantasies about food.[1] In the tales, however, reference to situations where food is eaten, given, enjoyed, hidden, or some risk undertaken in obtaining it, is abundant. This could be correlated with other cultural data such as 'the sanctity of food', the belief that somebody might 'breathe on bread or food' and thus render it dangerous to eat, and hence the custom of covering bread on a tray of food from the eyes of a stranger, or inviting him to 'have a bite' if he comes unexpectedly.[2] One is justified in calling these themes expressions of a 'food anxiety' according to Kardiner. It is only possible for the writer here to suggest the relationship between this 'food anxiety' and some social forces, such as the low level of subsistence economy in the village, the precarious conditions of agricultural techniques in which hard work does not always reap its adequate rewards, being threatened before the introduction of perennial irrigation by Nile flooding and occasionally by torrents and uncontrollable plant pests. Consequent on all this is the fellah's rationalization of fate, with regard to life's adversities.

Secondly, in some of the stories one glimpses reflections of the nature of the Oedipus myth: in story VIII, where the child kills his stepmother (symbolizing the bad mother in the dual mother role) and then his father; in story XIII where children are drowned in the well by their father, and the one like the 'bob tail' who managed to emerge into life again and achieve union with the mother; in story XVII, where Jiha takes his revenge by killing the father of the thieves with his 'bull's tail' and gains access to the wealth of the cave (mother). In some stories there is emphasis on masculinity, e.g. in story III where the only billy-goat that survives the ordeal of the wolf (the devouring father) is the one which is aware of its masculine capacity represented by its horns, enabling it to stand up to the father. Like the symbolism in the children's games, their tales also express certain anxieties of the castration type, especially in those stories of Jiha, who is deprived of his bull, of his money and of his blanket (XV, XVI, XVII).

[1] This was quite obvious during some of the 'children's hour' I used to hold.

[2] Making food covers (waleel, pl. willat) out of palm-tree leaves is a flourishing female occupation, and practically every girl starts learning how to make them before she gets married. See also Chapter IV for the villagers' secretiveness concerning food.

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On encountering in the folklore a constellation like the Oedipus situation, it is more profitable, instead of immediately recognizing 'a universal Oedipus complex', biologically determined, to proceed 'to examine the conditions in the actual experience of the individual, which contribute to the formation of such a constellation'.[1] Such expressions could be well explained in the light of the social institutions of the village, the dominant feature of which is that the individual in his 'growing up' finds himself constantly coming up against authority and power, and therefore his orientation for achievement of social or psychological independence is grossly hampered. Paradoxically enough, the villagers' vulnerability and hypersensitivity to the feeling of 'dependence' on social or economic levels are very intense. To remind someone of help rendered to him is a positive insult; and it is disgraceful to work as a hired labourer. 'The repudiation of dependency is surely making a virtue of necessity.' The individual's craving for power manifests itself in such social norms as refusal to accept compensation, generosity which implies giving without being asked, so that the receiver would not be dependent or obliged to give back; otherwise it is a reciprocal type of give and take, making the receiver a debtor. To this virtue of repudiating dependency may be attributed the excessive insistence while offering, with excessive reluctance in accepting anything, whether a cigarette or an invitation to food. This almost ritualistic feature governs the etiquette of behaviour in many situations where interpersonal relationships are involved.

The third theme which occurs in some of the tales is that of revenge and retaliation to 'clear one's name' from shame (*'ar*) (stories IX, XIV, XVI, XVII, XVIII). In these tales, even Jiha, the insignificant man, must take revenge on his detractors. With this, there is emphasis on trickery and chicanery to achieve one's ends and to outdo one's enemies. Such themes, according to Kardiner, are indications of emotional tensions of people who 'oscillate between uninhibited self-glorification and constant anxiety of being outdone and humiliated'.[2] As in Japan, a slur darkens one's good name and has to be removed without a compromise, although in Silwa there are no cases of suicide ever reported as a means of ridding oneself from shame as such an act would constitute a major sin.[3] One may attribute this sensitive development of the ego to situations of excessive sibling rivalry, and the unevenness of the process of 'growing up', where severe disciplines are imposed during childhood, and severe sexual restrictions and sex dichotomy during adolescence, in contrast with a permissive infancy-training system.[4]

[1] Abram Kardiner, *The Individual and His Society*, p. 133.
[2] A. Kardiner, op. cit., p. 117.
[3] See Ruth Benedict, *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword*, p. 145.
[4] See J. F. Ritchie, 'The African as a Suckling and as Adult', *Rhodes-Livingstone Papers*, No. 9, 1943, for the effects of an uneven process of 'growing up' on adult behaviour and personality development from a psycho-analytical point of view.

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Another tentative psychological explanation of fairy tales and folk tales in their social setting is advanced by Bartlett. He argues that the details and plots of such stories are usually derived from social customs and institutions. As social products, their psychological interest lies in ascertaining which of the three dominant tendencies of the instinctive social relationships, comradeship, assertiveness, and submissiveness, figure largely in them. In determining which of these instinctive tendencies takes first place in its expression in folklore, the cultural conditions and the external environment may be regarded as one of the most important factors. Thus in the folk tales, one could detect an expression of 'the preferred persistent social group tendencies' which could also be found in other fields of the same group's culture.[1]

Looking at these stories from such an angle, one can claim that the majority reflect 'assertive instinctive tendencies'. In story I the cock, which is the weakest of all the other animals mentioned, stands as the sole authority for information; in II the cock and the goat triumph over the donkey; in III the billy-goat asserts himself over the wolf; in V the cock (symbolizing the child) won the day with all those he dealt with; in VII the fox managed to laugh at the fisherman; in IX the boy succeeds in eloping with the chief's daughter; in X the nanny-goat scorches the wolf; in XI the scabby orphan boy asserts himself by having access to things which his uncle does not know and proves to be trickier than his uncle's wife; in XIV the poor boy and his sister get rid of their cousins who were richer and numerous; in the three Goha stories, XV, XVII, XVIII, the ridiculous and insignificant man asserts himself over his enemies and those who ridicule him. In story XVI he failed because of his profanity, for which he was deprived of his money.[2]

Following Bartlett's hypothesis, we find that the assertive instinctive tendencies loom large in most of these stories and could be regarded as 'the preferred response' in the group. This conclusion corresponds largely to our interpretations in the light of Kardiner's formulations. The weak, the insignificant, and the ordinary asserts its identity and becomes, through fantasy, as equivalent or even superior to the more fortunate and the more powerful. The link between 'assertiveness' as an over-reaction to an ego structure sensitive to being outdone or to feeling of inferiority is confirmed by the findings of clinical psychology.

In this connection, it is not without significance that one of the first phrases that the child learns to speak is 'May God curse your father', as a retort encouraged by his parents to anyone who may try to humiliate him.

[1] For F. C. Bartlett's views, I relied on the summary given in E. J. Lindgren, op. cit., pp. 358–66.

[2] In this connection the evidence from folklore and proverbs confirms Westermarck's observation that amongst the Moors God is always mentioned in a reverent manner. 'There is nothing of that familiarity or jocularity which is frequent in European sayings referring to Him, causing annoyance to puritanic writers.' *Wit and Wisdom in Morocco*, London, 1930, p. 31.

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So far we have been chiefly concerned with analysis of tales mainly from a functional point of view, especially as data to be brought to bear on the socio-psychological problems of culture-personality. We have not exhausted the various ways of analysis of such oral traditions such as discerning a given motif, a tale type, a quality of inner experience, a sense of wonder and astonishment, and so forth.[1]

I

Once upon a time a cock witnessed the falling of the roof of a house, then the fox came along to enquire as to what happened, to which the cock replied, 'Can't you see?' Then came the wolf, who asked the fox about the matter, but the latter referred him to the cock saying that he himself did not know. Then came the tigress (daba) asking the wolf, who referred her to the fox, who referred her to the cock. Then came the silowa, who asked the tigress, who referred her to the wolf, who referred her to the fox, who referred her to the cock.[2]

II

There were once a goat, a cock, and a donkey who tended a farm together. One morning, on going together to the farm they discovered that the crops were eaten. As the goat and the cock were staying in the same house, they suspected the donkey of secretly eating the plants, but he denied it as he alleged he was lying sick in bed the night before. As they did not believe him they asked him to join them in taking a vow whilst jumping over the well. The cock crowed 'cock-a-doodle-do' and jumped over the well. The goat bleated 'na-na' whilst successfully jumping over the well. Then came the donkey braying 'hee-haw', but while he was jumping a wolf, who had lain hidden in the well, grabbed the donkey by the leg and gobbled him up.[3]

III

Three billy-goats were attacked by a wolf. Before he started tearing them to pieces to eat them, he asked the first billy-goat, 'What are these things sticking out of your head?' To which he answered, 'They are horns'. The wolf tore him apart and devoured him. Then the wolf asked the second one, 'What are these things sticking out of your head?' To which he answered, 'They are horns'. The same fate befell him. Then the wolf asked

[1] For a comprehensive survey of the various ways of analysis of folklore see E. J. Lindgren, op. cit. For a most stimulating analysis of 'The Oedipus Myth, and the fairy tale of Red Riding Hood', see E. Fromm, *The Forgotten Language*, London, 1952.

[2] Reflections of fear of committing oneself can be detected in this tale, an expression of the uneasy climate of interpersonal relations in the community.

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[3] Apart from its manifest moral content, the latent content could be regarded as one with Oedipus reflections taking the donkey as the father, and the goat and cock as mother and child respectively.

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the third goat, 'What are these things sticking out of your head?' The answer this time was, 'They are loaded guns'.[1] Immediately the wolf heard this, he fled.

IV

Once upon a time there was a bride who, having been adorned with jewels, went to the Nile to gaze upon the water. While she was standing there she was seen by a crocodile, an animal which is always attracted by the glitter and tinkle of jewellery. Immediately the crocodile saw this beautiful girl, he advanced to swallow her whole and dived back into the the water. The girl lived in the crocodile's belly for a long time, until one day when the beast was on land, she remembered that she had a dagger, which she used to hack her way out of the crocodile, thus escaping alive to be reunited with her husband.[2]

V

A cock was once scratching the ground with his claws and found some seeds which he took to a woman and asked her to bake him two loaves of bread, which she did. The cock took the two loaves of bread and during his wanderings he found a hungry man tending his geese, to whom he offered the two loaves. The man ate the loaves, and enjoyed eating them, as they were made of wheat. But after that the cock asked the man either to hand back his loaves or to give him a goose instead of them, so the man offered him a goose.

The cock found another man tending his sheep, and waiting for a chicken or a goose to eat, which the cock was ready to offer. In the same manner, after the shepherd had eaten the goose, the cock insisted on either having back his goose or getting a ram instead, so the shepherd gave him a ram.

The cock wandered further, and found a group of men tending buffaloes, and looking for a ram to kill for a special meal, and the cock offered them his ram. After the meal was over, he made the same plea and got a buffalo.

The cock, wandering still further, arrived at a village where he found a wedding, the celebration of which was lacking meat, and he offered his buffalo. After the feasting, the cock went to the bridegroom and asked him to return his buffalo, or let him have the bride. So at last he got the bride and married her, and they lived together happily ever after.

[1] Assuming that these tales are transmitted from a time immemorial, this reference to 'loaded guns' must be a comparatively recent modification.

[2] This resembles the well-known stories of the hero in the belly of the whale. Joseph Campbell states that in the Eskimo tale of Raven and the whale, the principal deed of the adventurer is to make fire in the interior of the monster, thus bringing about the whale's death and his own release. As fire-making is symbolic of the sex act, the tale denotes the passage of the hero through the threshold of life into a sphere of rebirth symbolized in the life-centring, life-renewing act. *The Hero with a Thousand Faces*, pp. 90, 91, 248. Erich Fromm maintains that such stories, like that of Jonah, express an inner experience for a condition of being protected and isolated, of safe withdrawal from communication with other human beings. *The Forgotten Language*, p. 29.

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A mother had two boys, one called the clever boy (naaih), the other called the simpleton (dalihi). The simpleton went home to bring the midday meal for his brother, who was working on the farm. The meal consisted of loaves of millet and one loaf of wheat bread, besides a large pat of butter. On his way to the field the simpleton discovered that he was followed by his shadow, to which he constantly said, 'May God curse your father, why are you following me? Take this piece of bread and go away.' He kept throwing pieces of millet bread to his shadow until he had used up all the millet loaves.

Later on he found a cave into which he threw the loaf of wheat bread, uttering in horror, 'Oh, this is my father's open mouth. My father is hungry and I must feed him.' Thus he distributed all the food which he was supposed to take to his brother.

A little later he found some cactus which looked very dry, so he immediately threw the pat of butter on to these plants, saying disgustedly, 'Oh, this is my mother's hair, it looks so dry, I cannot bear it'.

On his arrival at the field his brother asked him about the food, and he answered in an enraged voice, 'How can you enjoy any food when your younger brother was following me all the way, while your father is starved and while your mother's hair is dry?'

The clever brother, therefore, had to go home to get his meal, leaving his simple brother to look after the sheep. While he was tending the sheep the simpleton ordered them to eat only the upper part of the grass and not the lower, on pain of punishment. By the time the clever brother returned the simpleton had killed all the flock except a goat and a sheep. When the former asked the latter about what he had done, the answer was that the flock had not obeyed his orders.

At the close of the evening the two brothers went home together, and on the way they found a horse, but the simpleton insisted on killing it and dividing it equally. Later they found a huge kite which they rode, but while they were on its back, the idiot stuck his finger into the kite's anus, and by so doing, the kite lowered her rump. In this way the simpleton fell off her back and was killed, while the clever boy returned home safely.[1]

VII

A fisherman on his way back from the river with his basket full of fish, saw a fox. When he came near the fox, the latter lay stretched on the

[1] This is one of the most favourite tales amongst both boys and girls. According to C. Jung the 'shadow' in this tale is an archetype embracing the inferior and less commendable part of a person (*The Integration of the Personality*, p. 20). The story, in Jungian psychology, could be interpreted as representative of the negative (idiot) and positive (clever) brother, the unconscious and the conscious, aspects of personality. Self-realisation and individuation can only come through the co-operation between the two aspects, and the unconscious content can overwhelm, inhibit and even destroy personal fulfilment. (C. Jung and E. C. Kerenyi, *An Introduction to the Science of Mythology*, p. 14.)

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ground pretending to be dead. The fisherman picked the fox up and put it in his basket on top of the fish. Surreptitiously the fox began to eat the fish, and after he had gobbled them all up, jumped out of the basket and mocked the fisherman, saying, 'I have triumphed over you' (literally, I have seared you). 'You will never be able to use my skin either in winter or in summer, while I have eaten up all your fish.'

VIII

There was a man who had first a daughter and then a son. After the death of their mother their father married again. Their stepmother[1] hated them even more because she herself had not borne any children, and she used to make them work very hard for her.

One day she gave her stepchildren two baskets of equal size to fill with fuel (animal dung, bits of straw and wood found along the roads). She promised a loaf of wheat bread and an egg to the one who filled the basket first. The brother did not gather much fuel, and for most of the time he was taking fuel out of his sister's basket, and putting it into his own basket. In this way he filled his basket first, and returned home, asking his stepmother for the promised reward. The stepmother told him to wait until she grilled the egg in her neighbour's oven, and asked him to go to sleep in the meanwhile. On her return the boy was sleeping, whereupon she slew him with a sharp knife, put him in a pot, and proceeded to cook him as if he had been a goose.

When the sister returned, she enquired about her brother, and the stepmother replied that she had sent him on an errand to his maternal aunt. She asked her to go on heating the pot with the fuel, asking her not to take the lid off the pot. But while the stepmother went out to bake the bread in the neighbour's oven, the girl lifted the lid and saw her brother's finger: she was grieved and started to cry. When the stepmother returned she asked her why she was crying, and whether she had lifted the lid. The girl answered that she was not crying, but that her tears were caused by the smoke, as she had to blow the fire constantly for the fuel was not dry enough.

In the evening the father came home and the wife offered him his meal which consisted of his son's flesh. On enquiring why his daughter was crying, the stepmother told him that she refused her dinner, and that she could not find any reason for her grief. When the bones were thrown away, the girl collected them all and put them in a jewel box which she hid under the water-jar from which the family drank. After a while, the child's ghost (sul) appeared, singing a beautiful tune: 'I am a green sparrow, who was killed by my stepmother, and whose flesh was eaten by my bloody father (aboya alars), and whose bones were collected by my affectionate sister.'

One day while the stepmother was grinding corn, the boy sang the

[1] The stepmother is always referred to descriptively as the wife of the father (literally, the father's woman: 'marat al-abu', class. Arabic, 'imrat al-ab').

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previous ditty for her, and she asked him to repeat it, expressing her admiration for his beautiful voice. But he refused to do so, unless she opened her mouth, and on her so doing, he dropped a stone of poison in her mouth which caused her death. He sang likewise to his father, when he was manipulating the 'shadoof', and was asked to repeat the song. The boy refused to do so unless his father stretched himself in the water, and on the latter's so doing, the boy seized the opportunity to drown his father and thus got rid of him like his stepmother.

The boy sang the same refrain to his sister when she was filling her jar from the river, and on her asking to repeat it, he requested her to open her mouth, into which he dropped a piece of sugar. He used to go to different places especially on ceremonial occasions, singing the same tune, repeating it on condition that the hearers should give him something edible or valuable which he would always take home to his sister.[1]

IX

There was a man whose wealth consisted mainly of camels, which he used to breed and rear. God gave him a son whom he sent to the Kuttab to memorize the Koran. After the death of this man, the wife took over the husband's task of tending the camels and thereby caused much embarrassment to her son in the Kuttab, as other boys used to sneer at him for letting his mother do the work which he himself ought to be doing. The boy, thus goaded by his mates, told his mother of his wish to do the same job as his father, but his mother tried to convince him that it was better for him to continue memorizing the Koran till he finished it. At last, however, the boy insisted on relieving his mother of her task, and began to look after his father's camels.

One day the boy, now reaching the marriageable age, while fetching water from the well for the camels, noticed a beautiful girl on a camel followed by a slave. He invited her to bring her camel to drink from his well, and when he caught a glance of her at close quarters he immediately fell in love with her. The girl also fell in love with him and as a gesture of her love, dropped her silver anklet into the well. After she had left, the boy went down into the well and retrieved the anklet: this made him even more desirous of marrying her.

[1] This is another favourite. In this story there are Oedipus reflections; the child by killing his father and bad mother (stepmother), his incestuous longings triumph at last by uniting himself to his sister (which is also a symbol of the good mother). However, the tale represents a state of regression. According to Freud, the growing out of psycho-sexual desires for incestuous longings, achieving a state of horror with regard to incest, is a sign of maturity (*Totem and Taboo*, p. 17). According to Erich Fromm this regression is due to fear of authority and repressed desire for dependency, a conflict between the desire for independence and freedom in growth and social arrangements frustrating the scope for such growth. In the light of his latest book, *The Forgotten Language*, this story could be interpreted as representing the victory of the matriarchal principle (mother and sister) of love and affection over the patriarchal principle of authority and hierarchy.

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From that day the boy's health deteriorated, and he lost his appetite. The mother hired someone to look after the camels, and directed all her attention to the treatment of her son with charms and medicine. One medicine man told her that her son was not actually sick, but in love; and on enquiring about this, the son confessed everything to his mother. Then she gave him the best she-camel she had and told him to go and visit the girl's people.

On his arrival in the girl's village, he discovered that the girl's father was the chief of his tribe, and one who never allowed any stranger to enter his land. Somehow the boy managed to contact the slave who had followed the girl on her errand, and who told him that the girl's father had a custom of confining himself to his home for a week, appearing publicly in the following week, and that that very day was his first day of retirement. The boy was pleased at this news and enquired of the slave the best way of speaking to his beloved. The slave told him that he should follow her camel which, at the end of the day, went to the house to be received by the girl herself. So the boy tied his she-camel to the girl's he-camel, and in the evening he succeeded in meeting her. During the night they fled away on their camels from that land.

During their sleep on the way, another chief passed by and admired the sleeping girl's beauty, and desired her for himself. While the chief was planning to abduct the girl, his he-camel had intercourse with the boy's she-camel, a fact which the boy discovered when his she-camel became pregnant a short time after he returned home. Despairing and frustrated, the boy returned to his mother, where he relapsed into his sickness.

When the boy's camel brought forth a he-camel, the mother told her son that it was this young camel that would help him to rescue his beloved as it would run faster than its father, the chief's camel. After three years, when the young camel had grown up, the boy went to the same spot where his beloved had been taken away, traced the footprints of the camel on which the chief had ridden, and thus reached the land where his beloved was.

On his arrival, he enquired about her from an old woman, who told him that the girl was now married to the chief and had two sons by him. The old woman, however, arranged a meeting between the boy and his once beloved, who on seeing him told him that it was now all over between them, but that she would tell of a device to enable him to have his revenge. She told him that her husband had married another wife before her, one who had four daughters, and they would be walking in the village all by themselves that night while all the other people in the tribe would retire to their homes, so she told him to take a chance of matching the chief's eldest daughter and running off with her.

The plot succeeded and the boy eloped with the chief's eldest daughter. Immediately the chief heard about the news, he rode on his camel in

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pursuit, but could not catch up with the elopers. Then he gave up chasing, after his realization that the man who had carried off his daughter was none other than the person from whom he had stolen his beloved. The chief inferred this from the fact that the camel that the daughter-snatcher was riding must have been the son of his camel and thus much faster than his sire.

When the chief returned home, he asked his wife about the boy's land, and after a time he equipped himself with gifts and food and went with some members of his tribe to the boy's home. On his arrival, he blessed the marriage of his daughter to the boy, and told him that he had avenged himself.

x

There were three nanny-goats who met three men, one carrying clover, the second wood, and the third bricks. The first nanny-goat asked one of the men to give her the clover so that she might build a home for herself, and he gave it to her. The second goat asked the second man to give her the wood for the same purpose and he gave it to her. The third goat asked the third man to give her the bricks and he did so.

Each of the nanny-goats built a house for herself from the material she had received from each man. Now, one day the wolf visited the goat who was living in the clover house, enticing her to come out, but when she refused, he jumped into her house, and devoured her. The second day he went to the second goat living in the wooden house and asked her to come out, but when she also refused, he jumped into the house and ate her. On the third day he went to see the third goat living in the brick house, and when she did not come out he endeavoured to jump into her house, but in vain.

Then the wolf tried to trick the surviving nanny-goat by telling her that he knew of some good grass where she could graze. She asked him where it was and promised to meet him there at an appointed time, but she went earlier, fed herself, and returned home. After the wolf had discovered that she had tricked him, he went again to her house. When he knocked at the door the goat bleated, 'I have eaten the grass and triumphed over you'. This time the wolf tried to tempt her with oranges growing in a place he knew about. As before she enquired as to where the place was, and went to it earlier than agreed. When he arrived at the place, he saw her at the tree. Then he said, 'This is a black day for you, you shan't escape from me'. On hearing this she threw an orange into the distance, and while he was running to get it she escaped home.

Then the wolf decided to make another attempt by asking the goat to invite him inside her house. She agreed, and told him to enter through a hole in the roof. While he was climbing she put a bathful of boiling water underneath the hole in the roof, and when the wolf jumped he found himself scalded and stuck in the hot water. He entreated the goat to rescue

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him, but she left him there to die, and henceforth she lived in peace and tranquillity.[1]

XII

There was once a scabby boy who was an orphan (literally one who had eaten all his relations), except for an uncle with whom he was living. The uncle had a wife who was in love with another man, and the scabby boy knew about this affair while the uncle did not.

One day the boy left his uncle in the field and went home unexpectedly, hiding himself behind the door. The lover came to see his uncle's wife, who told him that she would cook him a chicken and leave it on the shelf, and that he could help himself to it late that night. After the boy had heard this he went to the farm and resumed his work after making excuses to his uncle for his absence. When the scabby boy and his uncle returned home in the evening the wife offered them millet bread and salt for their meal. Just before they started eating, a cat came along, and the boy pinched it till it howled in pain. The uncle asked the boy why the cat was screaming, and the latter replied, 'The cat says there is a cooked chicken on the shelf'. Then the uncle went by himself to the shelf, and on discovering the chicken asked his wife why she had not placed it before them. She apologized, saying that she had completely forgotten it.

This plot of the wife promising the lover special food which he could fetch at night, of the boy overhearing what was said, and of the uncle asking about what the cat said on her screaming, went on for several days, and on every occasion the wife managed to give good excuses for not offering her husband the good food. The lover, however, began to think that the woman was deceiving him, but she told him what was happening and they decided to kill the cat. On the following day the woman promised her lover a turkey which she would hide in the chaff. The boy overheard this also, and when the uncle returned home, he was offered the usual millet loaf and salt. Then suddenly the boy told his uncle that he had forgotten to give the cow its evening feed, and went to the barn, and delved into the chaff until he had uncovered the turkey. He dashed back to his uncle, telling him that he had found a turkey but that he was not sure whether it was dead or alive. The uncle went to see about this, and on his finding the turkey violently rebuked his wife, who again excused herself on the ground that she had forgotten about it.

The lover became more annoyed than ever, and the wife agreed with him this time to take a cooked ram to his farm. But as she did not know the whereabouts of her lover's farm he decided to show her the way by scattering chaff along the path to his farm. Again the boy overheard this, and he removed the chaff and scattered the lover's trail, making one lead-

[1] If the nanny-goat symbolizes 'the child', then this story interpreted on the reductive level (infantile situations) represents an Oedipus situation where the child kills the father (wolf), and lives in peace in the house (mother), or according to Erich Fromm it could be representative of male-female conflict.

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ing to his uncle's farm. The woman took the ram and followed the trail, but to her bewilderment she found herself at her husband's farm.

The wife then decided to poison both the uncle and the boy, and while she was telling her lover about it, the boy again overheard her. He went straight to the drug seller and requested him that if his uncle's wife came to buy poison from him, he should tell her the dried yoke of eggs and advise her to sprinkle it over the cooked chickens which should be eaten for dinner every evening during the next week, and that this device would bring more decisive results than ordinary poison by the end of the week. The boy told his uncle about the plot, and they agreed to pretend to be dead at the end of the week.

On their supposed death, people began wailing, whilst the lover came to console the wife, he also told her, 'We are triumphant now, you are the mare and I am the horse'. Then the boy woke his uncle, saying, 'Wake up uncle, before the horses trample on you'. The uncle arose immediately, and murdered both his wife and her lover.

XII

Once upon a time there was a barren wife who had always longed for a daughter, and she took a vow that if she had one she would call her 'Hab-al-ruman'. After she had borne a daughter she became jealous of her, and used to ask the moon on its appearing every night, 'Who is prettier, I or Hab-al-ruman?' The moon's answer was invariably 'Hab-al-ruman'. As the mother felt snubbed by such an answer, she decided to get rid of her daughter, of whom she was so terribly jealous; she thereupon handed her over to an old woman telling her to abandon her on the mountains.

It so happened that after a short time the young daughter was rescued by the Sultan's son, who took her to his palace and looked after her. Meanwhile, the mother repeatedly asked the moon the same question, and the moon insisted on giving the same answer. At last she asked the moon where her daughter was, and on learning that she was in the Sultan's palace, she gave an old hag some poison to rub between her daughter's fingers on shaking hands with her in the palace. One day when the Sultan's son came to the palace, he found Hab-al-ruman dead. He then placed her in a chest, filling a similar chest with gold, and ordered the two chests to be left in the mountains. The 'ghool' and the 'silowas' were passing along one day through the mountains and found the two chests; Hab-al-ruman's chest fell to the ghool, who, on opening it, found this beautiful dead girl, and began to wash her for burial. But during the washing, as the ghool was rubbing between the girl's fingers, she suddenly came to life. The ghool looked after her until she grew up, and married her to a royal prince. By the Prince she had a boy whom the ghool snatched away. The Prince was grieved, and his grief became heavier after the ghool had snatched away a second and later a third son. At last the Prince

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could bear it no longer, and accused his wife of being an ogress—a silowa who ate her children. To find consolation the Prince decided to perform his pilgrimage, and before he left for Mecca he asked his wife what gifts she would like from the Holy Places, and was surprised to learn that her request was for two boxes, one filled with sabbar, and the other with henna.

On his return from the Higaz, the Prince decided to take another wife who might bear him children who would survive. This made the heart of his wife heavy and she would open the box of sabbar chanting 'Oh, sabbar, give me patience, oh, henna, let the ghool have mercy on me'.[1] The Prince went forward with the preparations for his marriage, and while the ceremony was being publicly announced, and the people sending in their gifts, the ghool surreptitiously brought the Princes's three sons back to their mother. Immediately the children started looking into the cooking utensils in which meat was being cooked for the occasion, but the servants pushed them away, preventing them from getting any meat out of the utensils. The boys were annoyed and exclaimed, 'This is strange; the food belongs to our father, yet servants prevent us from eating'.[2] Then the children's mother told them to go and snatch the razor from the barber who was ceremonially cutting their father's hair. Having done this, the sons began running towards their mother, followed closely by the Prince who enquired about the boys. The mother told him, 'These are your sons who were with their grandfather, the ghool, who brought them up and has now sent them back to see their father's wedding'. The Prince was overjoyed on the return of his sons, and went out to the gathering accompanied by his sons and cried aloud, 'O men, those of you who love the chosen Prophet can turn the wedding into a circumcision ceremony'.[3]

XIII

Once upon a time a childless woman prayed to God to give her a boy, even as small as a billy-goat's bob tail, and her prayers were answered. One day the bob tail (the little boy) hid himself in the grass, and was eaten by his father's cow. But one day, while the cow was about to turn the water wheel, the bob tail, who was now in her belly, said 'Huuh', and thus stopped the cow from turning. The bob tail's brother told his father about the cow. But the latter did not believe him, and accused him of lying, and drowned him in the well. The father then asked his daughter to attend to the turning of the water wheel, but she also complained of the cow in the same way as her brother, and met the same fate by being drowned in the well. This time it was the father himself who attended to the water wheel, and realized that his children's complaint about the cow was true, and he decided to sell the cow to a butcher.

[1] In Arabic the phrases are 'Ya sabbar, sabbir kalbi, Ya henna, hannini al ghool 'alal'.
[2] The exclamation phrases in Arabic make a rhyme: 'al 'aish 'aish abouna, wal khadam yutruduna.'
[3] This also rhymes: 'Alli yihib annabi al mukhtar, yikhib azzwag tahar.'

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When the butcher had slaughtered the animal, he distributed it amongst the customers, one of whom, a woman, bought the tripe out of which came the bob tail. The woman was terrified of this emerging ghost and left the tripe, which the bob tail then took to his mother.

On another occasion the bob tail hid himself behind a tree, whilst a gang of thieves were distributing their booty, whereupon he appeared suddenly, frightening them away. He was thus left alone to collect the booty, which he took to his mother.[1]

XIV

There was a family of seven brothers and their sister, whose paternal cousins, a brother and a sister, lived in another house. The seven brothers were poor, while the cousin was rich, and out of envy the brothers wished to do away with their cousin, but later they changed their minds and decided to abandon him in the mountains. One night they carried him off to the mountains and tied him to the back of a tigress who was with young. Then they brought the girl cousin to their house with all the wealth that her brother possessed. After a short time the tigress gave birth to a cub, and passed frequently through the village on her way to the Nile roaring, 'Ay, ay, there is a son of Adam on my back; ay, ay, O sons of Adam, come and release him'. As this roaring was heard every time the tigress passed through the village, the brothers realized the danger in store for them by these threats of the tigress, who might attack them at any moment, and so decided to release their cousin. One night they went out to the mountains with their knives, cut their cousin from the tigress' back, and returned home with him.

The unfortunate man's sister found her brother in a deplorable state of health, as worms were coming out of his back, and the rest of his body was full of wounds. She therefore locked him in a room, and determined that she must make a great effort to restore his health. She used to slaughter a ram for him every day, and by doing so his health gradually improved. Feeling better, her brother asked her one day to fetch in a sword to take his revenge on his cousins, but she insisted that he was not yet fit for such a task as he could not lift on his back a sack full of sand. The sister went on feeding her brother on his daily ram, and a month later, he succeeded in carrying the sack, thus proving that he had completely regained his strength, and was let out of the room.

One day, a short time after his release from his confinement, the cousin attacked the seven brothers while they were eating and killed them all, but while he was about to slay their sister, his own sister intervened, and told him that she would be his future wife.

The cousins were married, but the wife could not forget what had happened to her brothers, and wanted to have revenge on her husband's

[1] Here one can also detect a pattern of an Oedipus story.

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sister. With this aim in view, she hid two sparrows' eggs in her sister-in-law's porridge, who after eating it, became pregnant, bringing forth two sparrows.

The two sparrows, intimidated by their mother, continually pestered their uncle's wife. Hostilities reached their climax when one day, while the latter was sieving the corn, the sparrows came to scatter it all over the ground. Every time she said 'Hish, hish', to drive them away, they answered back, 'Hish to you, may your face be removed'.[1]

The husband, on his wife's complaint, decided to get rid of the sister, who had to leave her brother's home and wander with her two sparrow sons. One day she found a palace, and under its shade she rested, while her sparrow sons went gathering food for her. On looking out of his palace, the Prince saw this beautiful woman, whom he let into the palace and decided to marry her. And by him she had two daughters.

One day, while her brother was hunting in the mountains, he came to this palace where his sister was living. On asking for hospitality from the palace the brother was recognized by the sister, but he did not know her until she told him who she was. She offered him food and showed him her daughters as well as her sparrow sons. He was deeply touched and decided to take his sister back home, and to get rid of his wife who was the cause of their separation. The brother confessed his guilt to his sister, and told her that after all it was she who had prevented him from killing the girl who was now his wife, along with her brothers. The brother and his sister returned and settled in their home, and lived happily ever after.

XV

Jiha was one night sleeping outside his house, and on waking in the morning he found that his bed blanket, in which he had tied his money, had been stolen.[2] Jiha was very upset and waited until winter to attempt to get back his cover. On a very cold night in the following winter he invited all the village people, old and young, to a ceremonial oath-meal, for which he slaughtered a bull.

People came along; everybody wrapping himself up in the thickest blanket he possessed. Jiha himself began distributing the meat, scanning each guest; if the guest were old, Jiha would say, 'Oh, you don't need meat, you have eaten enough meat in your life', and if the guest were young he would say, 'Oh, you don't need meat, you will have many other chances in your life to eat meat'. In this way he went round with the meat until he discovered the man who had stolen his blanket; this he seized, and then asked everybody to be off, saying, 'You may go away now, it's only Jiha himself who deserves his own beef'.

[1] In Arabic it is a rhyming phrase: 'Hish tihishak, wi tagla wishak.'

[2] Jiha is a symbol of an insignificant and ridiculous person. In the Cairo dialect he is referred to as 'Goha'.

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XVI

*859 ●539 Jiha had a bull which he was fattening up to sell in the market. He took great pride in this, making great show of it in the village, boasting about the money he would get from the bull. Everyone asked Jiha to say, when he used to boast about his future wealth, that he would get it 'if God wills' (insha Allah). On each occasion Jiha replied: 'There is no need to add this phrase, because the bull is mine, and God has nothing to do with all this; I shall sell the bull and get the money, whether God wills it or not'.

On market day Jiha was eagerly looking forward to selling his bull and declared ostentatiously that from now on he would become a rich man. People again advised him to say 'if God wills', but he refused to comply. He sold his bull at last, putting his money in his pocket. A thief had been watching him, and deftly stole the money.

Jiha went off to buy some new clothes, swaggering and puffed up with conceit. When he put his hand in his pocket to pay the merchant he found that his money had gone. Then people came to ask Jiha about his money, and his reply was, 'If God wills, I have lost it'.

XVII

Jiha had a fat bull which did not allow anybody to enter the house without trying to toss him. Jiha's wife could not bear the bull's presence in the house, and repeatedly asked her husband to sell it. But Jiha insisted that he would not dispose of it unless green grass grew on the bull's back. One day Jiha's mother-in-law came into the house and the bull kicked her and broke her leg. The wife became more furious, and asked other people's advice concerning her husband's bull. An old woman advised her that instead of filling her water jar with water from the Nile, to fill it with earth and green grass from the field, and to put it on the bull's back. This she did, and the following morning she woke her husband telling him to get ready to sell the bull as the green grass had grown on the bull's back. Then Jiha asked his wife to heat him some water for his bath, and to prepare his tea before he went to the market in a nearby town.

Jiha took the bull to the market, but on his way he heard the voice of a man calling out, 'Oh, you, the owner of that billy-goat, come here'. Jiha pretended not to hear this remark and passed on. But the chief of the robbers (for such he was) ordered three of his gang to fetch Jiha and his bull. The three robbers went off and brought Jiha to the Chief who reprimanded him for not obeying his orders instantly. Jiha apologized, saying that he thought that the Chief's words were not directed to him as he had a bull and not a billy-goat. Anyhow, the thieves killed the bull, cutting it up into sixty pieces, and each one having a piece. Jiha entreated the robber chief to give him the tail of his bull as his share, which the Chief did. On his return home, Jiha told his wife about the thieves and how he managed to keep only the bull's tail. The wife set up a wailing,

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putting dust on her head, and taking the blame upon herself, because she had nagged him to sell the animal.

Jiha, however, was determined to revenge himself on the thieves, so one day he disguised himself in an old woman's dress, and repaired to the thieves' cave. It was night, and the thieves were just going out on their expedition, when they met this old woman whom they asked to come into their cave to entertain their father who was a very weak old man. Jiha was taken round the cave by the old man after the thieves had gone. He showed special interest in a type of garroting machine, and asked the old man how it worked. The latter began to demonstrate, and put his neck into the noose, whereupon Jiha lost no time in pulling the rope and half-strangling the old man, beating him meanwhile with the bull's tail, which was studded with nails. During the beating Jiha called out, 'I am not a woman as you see me, I am the owner of the bull'. After taking whatever he could lay his hand on, Jiha returned to his wife, and told her what he had done with the thieves' father.

On their return, the thieves found their father in a very poor way, and intended taking him to a medicine man. The next evening Jiha appeared in the disguise of a medicine man, declaring in front of the cave his unusual powers in treating all kinds of illnesses. He was taken into the cave to see the sick man. After consulting the stars and his beads, he told them that their sick father needed the milk of a deer which had only borne one offspring. As this was a rare animal, all the sons went out in various directions in search of the prescribed type of deer. When Jiha was sure that the thieves were a long way from the cave, he took out the bull's tail which was studded with nails, and started beating the old man again, saying to him, 'I am not a medicine man, I am the owner of the bull'. Then he asked him where the treasure was kept, and on being told he unlocked the door and helped himself to as much of the gold and silver he found there as he could carry.

On the following day Jiha asked one of his friends who was a fast runner, to go to the thieves' cave and announce that he was the owner of the bull. Jiha then followed his friend who, on announcing that he was the owner of the bull, ran away and was chased by all the sixty thieves. When Jiha, who was hiding, was sure that the thieves were well away, he entered the cave, gave the old father another beating with the bull's tail, and took away the rest of the thieves' wealth. As the thieves could not catch Jiha's friend whom they had pursued for a long distance, they returned home only to find their father dying, and their booty gone. Jiha went home to his wife, proud of the fact that although he had lost the bull, he had gained riches which were a hundred times more valuable.

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Jiha had a lame donkey which made him an object of ridicule throughout the whole village, but particularly from one of his neighbours. Jiha

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decided to retaliate by ridiculing his neighbour and making a fool of him. So one day, he inserted five pieces of gold into his lame donkey's rectum, and took it to drink from the canal. After the donkey had drunk the water it defaecated, dropping the gold pieces, which had been inserted.[1] Then those who were around were astonished, and every one of them wanted to buy Jiha's donkey which defaecated gold, but Jiha preferred to sell it to his neighbour. The next day, the neighbour discovered that Jiha had deceived him, for the donkey did not defaecate any gold. Jiha's answer to this accusation was that the donkey became sterile owing to some black magic.

Some time later Jiha agreed with his wife to pretend to beat her, so much so that she would fall to the ground, feigning death; whereupon he would blow a whistle which would bring her to life again. Then, on hearing about this, everybody in the village wanted to buy Jiha's whistle, but he sold it to his neighbour. One day the neighbour was angry with his wife and beat her so thoroughly that she died. He then tried to bring her to life by blowing Jiha's whistle, but nothing happened. Raging with fury, the neighbour decided to kill Jiha, and so revenge himself. Anticipating this, Jiha pretended to be dead and was buried in a grave, taking a sharp razor with him. But the neighbour decided to get down into the grave to make sure that Jiha was really dead. As he was entering the grave, Jiha pulled him down into it and cut him to pieces with his razor, and in this way, Jiha triumphed over them all.

[1] For a psycho-analytical interpretation of symbols, the connection here between defaecation (faeces) and gold is worth noting.

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men. One woman told me that a girl who beautifies herself will find difficulty in marriage and will have no 'lamah' (halo) about her to please her husband when married.

During adolescence, however, the girl would be prepared for marriage by tattooing her lower lip and by a special mode of hair style, distinguishable from the loose hanging hair of childhood. For tattooing the lip, a special woman is invited to prick the lip with a pack of needles smeared in black soot mixed with animal bile. The hair dressing of an adolescent girl and a woman is very much like that among the Sudanese women.[1] A special woman called 'mashata' plaits the hair into small tresses tightly covering the head. This style of hair makes a firm basis for fixing her ornaments on marriage, which are usually composed of three golden disks (dinar, pl. dananeer) that dangle over the forehead, and a silver chain connected to the ends of the hair at the back.

It is during adolescence also that boys show the greatest interest in singing, and for this purpose they form the so-called 'circle of romance boys' (awlad al hawa). In these circles, held usually in summer, on festive occasions, weddings and circumcision, youths give vent to their new interest in love. They perform by standing in a circle with one taking the lead by singing a song while the other boys listen. On finishing, they repeat in chorus the last line again and again, clapping their hands rhythmically till the first singer or another youth starts another song. Some of these songs are composed extemporaneously, while others are old ones repeated. The following three examples are typical of the songs sung:

Ya bit ya um ghawaish,
khallaiti 'agli taish,
nassaitini al ma'aish,
Chorus: Wi dmoui 'al'ashik 'al khaddain.

O thou girl with bracelets,
thou hast rendered my mind crazy,
and hast made me neglect my work.
Chorus: And the tears of the lover are on the cheeks.

. . . . .

Rakbah min foag wasil,
tihki bil hasil,
mafeesh adab wasil.
Chorus: 'Ala annabi wahhid wi salli.

She is on the top (on the roof),
telling what has happened,
she has no politeness at all.
Chorus: Say God is one and pray for the Prophet.

[1] Cf. Sophie Zenovsky, 'Marriage Customs in Omdurman', in *Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. XXVI, Part ii, 1945, p. 244.

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Wana jayi mna al Mas'aeed,
wi labis talat jalalaleeb,
wi batgallab baihin gilleeb.
Chorus: Gol la abouy in kunt tahwani, gol la abouy.

I was coming from al Masaeed (a neighbouring village)
wearing three garments
in which I was rolling, rolling.
Chorus: Tell my father if you love me, tell my father.

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At this stage of adolescence, boys—especially those who have been to the Kuttab—begin to participate in mosque prayers and show intensified interest in religious practices. They go to Friday prayers, take part in the calling for prayers and the drawing of water from the mosque well for ablutions. A great number of youths also join the mystic order of 'Nakshabandia'; they are called 'Boys of the Path' (awlad attarik), and their headquarters is a room attached to the old mosque of the village. Members of the sect are expected to attend the night prayers ('isha) in the mosque, after which they congregate for reading and listening to mystic verses, followed by telling some of God's attributes silently several times. This is called 'the mystic routine' (ratib). Moreover, on certain occasions, these youths perform collectively the 'Zikr'. The performance of this mystic ritual involves mainly the repetitive uttering of some of God's attributes aloud and in unison. The leader of the 'Zikr', a blind man, stands in the middle of a circle, while youths, and sometimes with them a few married men, will be standing in a circle calling out together one of God's names, e.g. 'Merciful' (Raheem), while swaying their bodies. This repetition may go on for about a quarter of an hour or so, to be stopped by the leader who will recite some verses of saints or some 'mawwals'. While the boys are listening to this, they express their approval and admiration, and they may ask for another 'mawwal' from the reciter before they start chanting another of God's names. While those in the circle are repeatedly chanting a name of God, gradually getting into almost a state of ecstasy, the leader in the centre would be clapping his hands and stimulating his boys to carry on by more repetitive chanting. The following are two examples of 'mawwals' sung on such occasions:

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'Ajaby 'ala welaid fi zikr al-Ilah zawwad,
elif al-Jalalah, wib salaat annabi t'awwad.
'Ash gadr ma'ash la mal wa la hawwad,
wa la umru jalas yoam ma'ally galbahum sawwad,
lamma mat bayyan karamat la 'affan wa la dawwad.

I admire the boy who has indulged in mentioning God's name,
and accustomed himself to His Glorious name and to prayers for the Prophet,

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and lived all his time never deviating from the right path,
and never associating with those people whose hearts have been blackened.
When he died he showed signs of piety, and his body neither decayed, nor was attacked by worms.

. . . . . .

Shams al giyama danat gum ya mureed safir,
gum jahhiz azzad min gabl al-miaad safir,
wi gabbad al-arwah daiman al-'ibad safir,
as-shaib wiyya as-sigam ju lak ya fata mursal.
wi likul umnah ata liha nabi mursal,
ata Jibril bil burag li annabi mursal.

The sun of resurrection is approaching, a warning for departure.
Prepare yourself before the hour comes.
The seizer of souls is always apparent and about.
Grey hairs and sickness are messengers for you.
For every nation there has been a messenger,
and Gabriel delivered God's message to Muhammad.

On some occasions these 'Boys of the Path' go to visit their 'brothers' in another village. On their approaching that village, the heralding of which would be by the visitors' chanting in unison popular verses and by beating on a small drum, the latter would walk out to receive them before they enter the village. They would offer them tea and dates and spend the rest of the night reciting verses or holding a 'zikr'.

Some of the adolescents and youths in the village do not take part in either the singing or mystic activities, for they are not encouraged to do so by their parents, and they are satisfied by only gathering in the neighbourhood for chatting. On asking some of these boys why they did not join in such activities, they replied that they wanted to attend to their livelihood, and as they usually felt tired through the day's work they could spare no time or effort for such activities.

It must be pointed out that it is not maintained here that interest in religious matters is a psychological consequence of puberty and adolescence, or that the attitude towards sex is being learnt only at this stage. Such norms as mentioned earlier are being imbibed gradually from childhood. With regard to religious matters, children start by learning about God's power at an early stage, even in their play and riddles. On going to the Kuttab they know how to recite the major Islamic creed, 'There is no God but Allah and Muhammad is his Prophet', learn the obligation of fasting through the adult practice and through their own attempts to fast half a day, a day or more according to their capacity in imitation of adults. As far as sex norms are concerned, they begin to express themselves in separate play as early as the age of eight and nine years. But with the dawning of adolescence, the child finds himself awakened to the cumulative

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872 794 more memorizing of what was written in the morning, irrespective of whether the boy has actually learnt it or not during the previous period. The latter part until the afternoon prayer ('asr) would perhaps be occupied with revising the previous assignments. This is mainly co-operative work where groups of children are formed, according to the level of their advancement in their learning. On other afternoons, instead of such revision, boys may practise penmanship by writing out the alphabet, or copying out the prophetic tradition.

Such is the procedure followed every day in all the village Kuttabs, except on Thursdays, when boys leave the school after the morning break and take Friday as a holiday. On Thursday morning the boys do not write any new assignment from the Koran, but spend the morning either listening to readings from the Prophet's life and trying to learn some of the poems in his praise, or by imbibing some religious teaching, such as lustration, prayer ritual, and Islamic obligations. This might be followed by a general sweeping of the Kuttab floor in which everybody takes part. Thursday morning always ends with a congregational prayer which is said firstly by the older boys, and then repeated by the rest. The text of the prayer is as follows:

[539] [782]

O, our Lord, O, our Lord,
Who listens to our petitions,
By the sanctity of Mohammed,
Frustrate not our hopes.
Mohammed is the son of Abdullah,
and the reader of Allah's Book.
As the Holy One in Paradise,
Calls us to enter into his company
Where he will give us the drink as we shall give unto him
From the Springs of Paradise,
O, our Sheikh (who is present), may God forgive his sins,
For us and for him, the door of Paradise,
As the door of Paradise is (prepared) for the Moslems
And the door of the Fire for the Unbelievers.

After this is finished, they all recite together:

O, our Mustapha (one of the names of the Prophet), accept our petition,
And teach us knowledge, and increase in that abundantly.

This prayer will be followed by the Sheikh's exhortation to all the boys to be obedient to their parents, revise at home those parts of the Koran which they have already learnt, not to play idly in the streets, and to the older boys to attend the Friday prayers in the mosque. Then the 'Fatiha' [576] will be read by the Sheikh; and the boys, after kissing the Sheikh's hand, go home or straight to the field.

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Appendix Five

THE WOMAN WHO SPEAKS IN KORANIC QUOTATIONS 7/1

ABDULLAH IBN AL-MUBARAK relates: 'I intended to perform my pilgrimage one year, so I joined the caravan that was going to Mecca. On the way I overslept one night, only to find on my awaking that the caravan had left. While pursuing the caravan, I found a woman who had also lost her way. On my enquiring her name, she answered, "In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful—and mention Mary in the Book".[1] So I knew that her name was Mary (Mariam). I offered her food, but she refused, saying, "In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful—surely I have vowed a fast to the Beneficent God".[2] As I understood that she was fasting, I recited to her, "In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful—but whoever among you is sick or on a journey, then (he shall fast) a (like) number of other days".[3] To this she replied, "In the name of God . . . and that you fast is better for you if you know". Then I asked her whether she wanted to ride on my camel, and she recited, "In the name of God . . . and whoever does good deeds, whether male or female, and he (or she) is a believer—these shall enter the Garden, and they shall not be dealt with a jot unjustly".[4] So I knew she wanted to ride, so I made the camel kneel for her to mount, and she recited, "In the name of God . . . say to the believing men that they cast down their looks, and guard their private parts: that is pure for them: surely Allah is aware of what they do".[5] Immediately I knew that she desired me to be modest, so I turned away my face while she mounted. While I was urging the camel to get up, she quoted, "In the name of God . . . Glory to Him who made this subservient to us, and we were not able to do it".[6] On the way I asked her whether she had any children and her answer was, "In the name of God . . . and mention Abraham in the Book: surely he was a truthful man, a Prophet".[7] "O John (Yahya), take

[1] Koran, xix, 16.
[2] Koran, ii, 184.
[3] Koran, xxiv, 30.
[4] Koran, xix, 41.
[5] Koran, xix, 26.
[6] Koran, iv, 124.
[7] Koran, xliii, 13.

7/1 [For commentary on this story, see category 116, p. 93-Gaulier]

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hold of the Book with strength, and We granted him wisdom while yet a child."[1] "And to Moses, Allah addressed His word, speaking (speaking to him)."[2] So I understood that she had three boys by the names of Ibrahim, Yahya, and Mousa. On asking her how her sons were occupied she replied, "In the name of God . . . and landmarks: and by the stars they find the right way".[3] So I knew that they worked as guides on the desert routes. We went on conversing till sunset, when I offered her food to break her fast, and in gratitude, she said, "In the name of God . . . and whatever good things you spend shall be paid back to you in full, and you shall not be wronged".[4]

'In the morning we reached Mariam's home, and I met her three sons, who thereupon killed a ram, offering me a grand repast. Mariam herself invited me to eat, reciting, "In the name of God . . . eat and drink pleasantly for what you did".[5] Before I left their place, I asked her sons the reason for their mother's talking thus, always quoting from the Koran. They told me that, one day, while she was reading the Holy Book she came across the text, "He utters not a word, but there is by him a watcher at hand".[6] She immediately took a vow not to utter any statement from that time on which was not in the Koran, for fear of falling into sin.

'The following year, I went to call on Mariam at her house and on finding her sons there, enquired about their mother. They told me she was on her death-bed. This saddened me, so I received permission to approach her, and drawing near her asked how she felt. She answered, "In the name of God . . . and the stupor of death will come in truth: that is what you shunned".[7] I remained at her side until she died, and then we washed her, wrapped her in her shroud, prayed over her, and buried her. I stayed alone beside her grave, and when night fell, I called out to her, "What has God done to you, Mariam?" I heard a faint voice answering as if from a distance, "In the name of God . . . and reward them, because they were patient, with Garden and silk".

'Reclining therein on raised couches, they shall find therein neither (the severe heat of) the sun nor the intense cold. And close down upon them (shall be) its shadows, and its fruits shall be made near (to them), being easy to reach. And there shall be made to go round about them vessels of silver and goblets which are of glass.

'(Transparent as) glass, made of silver, they have measured them according to a measure.

'And they shall be made to drink therein a cup, the admixture of which shall be ginger.

'(Of) a fountain therein which is named Salsabil.

'And round about them shall go youths never altering in age; when you see them, you will think them to be pearls, scattered, broadcast.

[1] Koran, xix, 12. [2] Koran, iv, 164. [3] Koran, xvi, 16.
[4] Koran, ii, 272. [5] Koran, lii, 19. [6] Koran, l, 18.
[7] Koran, l, 19.

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'And when you see these, you shall see blessings, and a great kingdom.
'Upon them shall be garments of fine green silk and thick silk interwoven with gold, and they shall be adorned with bracelets of silver, and their Lord shall make them drink a pure drink.
'Surely this is a reward for you, and your striving shall be recompensed.'[1]

[1] Koran, xii, 21.

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Appendix Six

SOME PROVERBS CURRENT IN THE VILLAGE

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BESIDES those proverbs mentioned in the main text of the thesis the following are specimens of proverbs in the village dialect. It is to be noted here that some of the Prophet's sayings as well as some Koranic statements are occasionally quoted in a proverbial sense, especially by literate people. For a compendium of Arabic proverbs, see J. L. Burckhardt, *Arabic Proverbs*, London, 1930; and for the colloquial Egyptian proverbs, especially in towns and cities, see M. Taimour, *al-Amthal al-'Amia* (Colloquial Proverbs), Cairo, 1950 (in Arabic).

Alli ma 'indush ma yilzamush.
He who has not, need not give.

Shatlak wala yidurrak.
What you plant shall never harm you.

Walad batny yiaraf ratny.
The son of my womb knows my language (lingo).

Nas ti'akkir wi nas tseed.
Some disturb the waters, others fish in them.

Kul shai gismah wi naseeb.
Everything is destined and is thus one's lot.

Alli yimil gantara lazim yithammal addoas.
He who makes a bridge of himself must bear the treading. (Said about a person who assumes the role of leadership with its concomitant responsibilities.)

'Ind ashadaid t'uraf al ikhwan (class. Arabic).
Adversities are the test of brothers (or friends).

Khisla fi al abai yarithuha al abnai (class. Arabic).
A trait in the fathers is inherited by their sons.

Addonia himal.
Life is burdensome.

Addahab yihtaj li annukhal.
Gold requires the bran (wherein it can be hidden and preserved). (In other words the leaders of people need the support of the led and the less distinguished of their people.)

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Annas bi annas.
People can live through co-operating with, and consideration for, others (said to sanction the exchange of social obligations). 539

Alli yisheel girbah tnaggit alaih.
He who carries a water-skin must expect to get wet (or to get some water slopped on him).

Mid ryjlak 'ala gadr ghatak.
Stretch your legs according to the size of your blanket. (Cut your coat according to your cloth.)

Kulluh indal Arab saboon.
It is all soap for the Arabs (said for those who cannot discriminate in matters of clothes, food or social matters).

Alli y'ieeb, y'ieeb fi nafsu.
He who insults others, insults himself.

Min jawar al-haddad yibla bi naru.
He who is a neighbour of a blacksmith must suffer from the furnace.

Addunia bi khairha.
There is still goodwill on earth (when someone becomes suspicious of others).

Man taradda bi ridai lam yatraddah abeeh, yati 'alaih zaman yatamanna al moat feeh.
He who wears a robe that his father did not wear before him will witness a day in which he would desire death.

Annasab nashab wa in sah yibga ahliyah.
Marriage may bring wealth, and if it succeeds may become like kinship bonds.

Naseeb wa 'azz an-nasab, wi gaid himartu 'azz min al-walad.
My son-in-law is very much admired, and the rope that tethers his donkey is dearer to me than my son (said by mother-in-law).

Addukhool fi as shibak hain, at-tammul fi al-khurooj.
Getting entangled is easy, the difficulty is getting out.

Bab yijeeb ar-reeh, siduh wi astareeh.
A door lets in the wind, better close it and be comfortable. (It is better to prevent causes of friction.)

Iligeet ghadir fi tareeg wadi gul laih attareeg ma'ak.
If you meet a stray person in the desert, tell him that he is following the correct route.

Asseet wala al ghina.
Have reputation rather than wealth.

Ma ynoub alli yihajjiz illa tagtei hdoumoh.
The mediator trying to separate the two opponents would gain nothing but torn clothes.

Khud ma ataak wa atruk ma fatak.
Take what is coming and abandon what is past.

Ya ma nas marmar 'atabha, sakanu luhoud at taraib.

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539 Many were the people whose thresholds were made of marble, but who had to be buried in dust.

Alli yibus fi balawi ghairuh, tilhoun 'alaih balaweeh.
He who considers other people's sufferings, would alleviate his own.

Aih yakhud ar reeh min al balaat.
What can the wind scour from floor paving? (You cannot get blood out of a stone.)

Min 'ashar al goam arbaeen yom, ya sar, ya asbah minhum.
He who associates with a group of people for forty days would then either depart, or become one of them.

Alli laih kabeer ma yendaribshy 'ala dahru.
He who has a patron would not have his back beaten.

Alli maloosh kabeer yishtari laih kabeer.
He who has no patron should find one (lit. buy one).

Kul fula wi laha kayyal.
Every kind of bean has a special person to appreciate it (lit. assess it).

Kul sagtah wi laha lagtah.
Everything that falls has got a gatherer.

Al 'ajalah min ashaitan.
Haste is of the devil.

Yinfa'ak dahabak das, wi waladak min dahrak bas, wi tourak min bagarak.
You can only rely on your hidden gold, your child descending from your loins and your calf from your cow.

Sahib balain kaddab, sahib talatah mundfig.
He who has two minds is a liar, he who has three is a hypocrite (usually said about a person who marries more than one wife).

Al khaly yigool 'ads.
The one who is indifferent would say it is lentils (said to a person who tries to underestimate the difficulties of another). The proverb is related of a person who committed adultery in the fields during harvest time; he was pursued by another. During his flight he gathered a handful of lentils. On being caught he was asked why he was pursued; his answer was that because he had stolen a handful of lentils. Yet the pursuer said, 'Of course those who have not seen what he did would say it is a handful of lentils'.

Girat haz wala faddan shatarah.
A small amount of luck (a 'kirat' is one twenty-fourth of a feddan) is better than a lot of hard work (feddan).

Al jahil 'adow nafsu.
The child is the enemy of himself (his own well-being).

[538] For a study of proverbs and proverbial statements, see Edward Westermarck, *Wit and Wisdom in Morocco*, London, 1930. From our list of proverbs we have omitted also those included in this book, e.g. 'Learning is better than goods; 'When the bull falls down, the daggers are many'; 'What the

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eye does not see, the heart does not grieve for;' 'The funeral is great, and the deceased is a dog';[1] 'He fasted and fasted and breakfasted on an onion,'[2] etc.

No attempt at any theoretical study of proverbs or any kind of classification has been made here. Reference can be made to the masterly way that Westermarck has treated the subject throughout his work, especially in the Introductory Essay.

Here we can only point to the fact emphasized by Westermarck, that a people's proverbs cannot be taken as indicative of their character without full knowledge of other facts that the proverbs do not state.[3]

[1] It is 'mouse' in Morocco.
[2] In Morocco it is 'He remained fasting for a year and breakfasted on snails'.
[3] For examples see Westermarck, *op. cit.*, pp. 32–4.

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Appendix Seven

BOYS' RIDDLES

(mainly in the adolescent stage)

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'One measure of clover covering this world and the hereafter.'
Answer: (Stars.)

'Something which looks like a man's covering which is woven neither by a Moslem nor by a Christian.'
(Loofah.)

'How many cups are in the sea?'
(The sea is that of knowledge and contains four cups which are the four schools of Moslem theology: the schools of Malik, Al Shafii, Abu Hanifa, and Ibn Hanbal.)

'How many "Kintars" are there in the "mountain"?'
(The mountain here is the Koran, so the mountain contains 114 'Kintars', as the Koran consists of 114 chapters.)

'How many "Kasabas"[1] are there in the universe?'
(There are fourteen 'Kasabas' in the universe: seven heavens and seven earths.)

'A tree that contains twelve branches and on every branch there are thirty leaves.'
(The lunar year—in fact, however, the lunar months are of thirty and twenty-nine days alternately.)

'Riding his mother and protected by his father.'
(The bullet in a gun.)

'A cripple who walks, a blind man who sees, a barren person who is pregnant, if she continues to be thirsty she survives, and with her the child she bears, but if she drinks, she dies and with her dies her child.'
(The laden boat at sea.)

'A boy and his sister, and a wife and her husband, amongst whom one distributes three oranges, each one getting a whole orange.'
(The sister of the boy is at the same time the husband's wife.)

'There was a wolf, a ram and some clover, and a man wanted to take

[1] A Kasaba is a length measure of 355 centimetres.

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them across from one side of the river to the other, provided he takes only one of them at a time. How could he manage that without losing any of these things, e.g. letting the wolf eat the ram, or the ram eat the clover?'

(He takes the ram first to the other bank and leaves it there. Then takes the wolf, leaving it there, taking the ram back with him to where it was. Then takes the clover across to the other side, leaving it beside the wolf, and returning to fetch the ram.)

'Our white camel scatters its feeding-stuff,
Our black camel gathers its feeding-stuff.'

(White camel is daytime when people disperse for work, whereas the black camel represents night when people gather for chatting.)

'The land is white, the sowing seeds are black, the cows are five, and the plough is one.'

(This is a representation of the hand (five fingers) writing in ink (black sowing seeds) with a pen (one plough) on a white sheet of paper (white land).)

'A boy with scabies rubs his head on another scabby head, and from too much rubbing the heads fall down piece by piece.'

(The upper and lower stones of a handmill grinding flour.)

'Ninety knights who run in one vessel.'

(The two wheels of the water-wheel, the upper horizontal wheel containing fifty teeth, and the lower vertical one containing forty, and both being in the well.)

'A white billy-goat, with red ears.'

(The 'maktaf' (basket) made of whitish palm-tree leaves, with two handles made of brownish palm-tree fibre.)

'Shakes his head while filling his belly.'

(The spindle.)

'Abuyah kitir malu
'ala akhti katabnalu
al bit jabat walad ya zein af'alu
baga abuyah wibn akhti wana khalu.'
'Abuyah has plenty of money.
We've got him wed to my sister.
She had a child, who's done himself well.
He's the brother of Yah (Akhuyah), he's my cousin and I'm his maternal uncle.'

(Here the play is on the words Abuyah (first line) and Akhuyah (fourth line), where the former word means 'Father of Yah' and 'my father' and the latter word means 'brother of Yah' and 'my brother'.)

[apparently this should read Akhuyah -- analyst]

THE FELLĀḤĪN OF UPPER EGYPT

Another example of kindness shown by a *ḳarīneh* to her human prototype is described on p. 102 (see also p. 235).

The following is a translation of the written charm (Fig. 33) worn by an expectant mother who has reason to fear harm being done to her offspring by her *ḳarīneh*. The charm is obviously Coptic, but it is used by Muslim mothers as well as by those professing Christianity. "In the Name of God of Triune nature, He is the Mighty Benefactor, Creator of all the powerful witches [evil women], Whom eye does not see and thought cannot conceive [mix with], Who knows what is before it is, before Whom the angels tremble with awe, and Whom the devils fear for His Power. All things in Heaven and on earth worship Him, and He is Ruler over all things. O God, by Thy Mighty Name and Powerful Arm and the Beneficent Light of Thy Face protect the bearer of this my charm—what is in her womb and who drinks [will drink] of her milk—from the devilish, cursed *ḳarīneh* by the power of this magic square and what of Thy Mighty Name it contains."

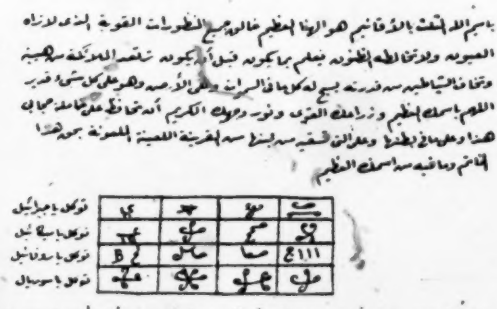

FIG. 33. CHARM AND CHARM SQUARE WORN BY AN EXPECTANT MOTHER

The probable meaning of the square in the illustration is, so I was told: "Make it your charge, O Gabrāīl, make it your charge, O Mikhāīl, make it your charge, O Rūfāīl, make it your charge, O Sūriyāl, make it your charge, O Māniyāl, by the power and might of the Mighty God, the Almighty, and His broad Throne, and His dazzling Light, to burn the cursed *ḳarīneh* and cast her into the fire."

There is another personality besides the *ḳarīn* or *ḳarīneh*, called the *ukht* (sister), which is believed to be born simultaneously with each human being. There is, however, no *akhkh* (brother), but

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845 789 hip. The other charm is burned, and while it is burning the magician repeats the inscription on it once, after which the child is immediately born. An exact copy of the charm to be hung on the woman is reproduced here (Fig. 124). There is no key to it, so I was told.

The inscription recited by the magician is from the hundred and fourteenth chapter[1] of the Ḳorān, of which the following is a translation:

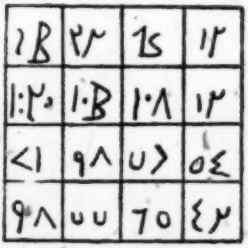

FIG. 124. THE CHARM TO BE SUSPENDED FROM THE WOMAN'S WAIST

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"Say, I fly for refuge unto the Lord of men, the King of men, the God of men, that He may deliver me from the mischief of the whisperer who slyly withdraweth, who whispereth evil suggestions into the breasts of men [*i.e.*, the Devil]; from *ginn* and men." The magician then adds: "Make your servant so and so, the daughter of so and so [mother's name], bear quickly by the help of God Almighty."

755 789 796 Here is a cure for a headache: "Cure for a headache. Very excellent. The charm should be written on a piece of red leather and hung over the temple of the patient, and, whoever wears it, it [the headache] will certainly be removed by the will of God." These are the words of the medicine-man himself, translated as literally as possible from the Arabic. The inscription consists of nothing but letters, the first groups standing for Syrian names of God, and the others for the names of seven good sheikhs.

755 The following is a cure for fever. This prescription was given me by a sheikh who is renowned for his powers as a medicine-man, and he declares that by means of it he has cured many people. The sheikh takes four small pieces of paper, and on the first he writes "Hell is hot"; on the second "Hell is cold"; on the third "Hell is thirsty"; and on the fourth "Hell is hungry." All the letters of each word in these inscriptions must be well separated from each other. He then puts seven seeds of *kammūn iswid* (black cumin) on each piece of paper. Having done this, he takes a short, narrow strip of leather, which must be old, such as is used for making sieves for winnowing. This piece of leather must be divided into four portions, one for each paper. A candle like those used in Coptic churches is broken into four pieces, and

[1] One of those chapters of the Ḳorān which are often utilized as amulets.

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539 The Work of Women is better than that of Men; or, the Ideas of Women are Superior to those of Men

Once upon a time a judge had a wife who was always telling him that he invariably gave judgment in favour of men and never of women. To this accusation the judge replied, "Oh, my dear wife, I think that women are very inferior to men; they are always in need of our help."

As the judge continued to pay no attention to what his wife said, she became angry with him, and said to herself, "I will find a way in which to punish my husband."

[269] So one day the wife told her husband to buy some meat and a melon for dinner. After she had prepared these things a friend came, and she offered *him* the meat for his dinner and cooked some lentils for her husband's meal, to take the place of the meat which she had given to her friend. She then cut out the inside of the melon and poured water inside the rind, which had been left whole. She brought also some fish and put them inside the melon-rind in the water.

When her husband came to take his dinner as usual she brought him the lentils.

He was much surprised when he saw this, and said to her, "What is the matter? I bought meat, not lentils."

So she said to him, "This is all that you bought; you must eat it." So he ate.

After he had eaten the lentils she took a knife and began to cut the melon into pieces, and then started laughing. Her husband said, "What is the matter with you?" She replied, "My dear husband, you must come and see the fish which are in this melon."

The man was very surprised to see such a curious thing, and he went outside his house, where there were some people sitting, and said to them, "I have bought a melon inside which there are fish. I shall invite you to eat some of these fish to-morrow."

The next day he sent out his invitations to the people who had promised to dine with him on the fish. When the guests arrived he said to his wife, "Bring the fish!" So she came forward and said, "O my husband, do fish live in melons? What is the matter with you? O people, you must perceive that the judge has become mad!" So they took him to the asylum and made some one else judge in his place.

When they asked the poor man every day the names of the days of the week he repeated them correctly, but when they asked him, "Where do fish live?" he replied, "Fish live in melons."

One day the woman went to visit her husband and said to him, "When they ask you 'Where do fish live?' you must say, 'They live in water, in ponds and rivers and lakes.'" Then they let him go free, and when he arrived at his house the people came to salute him.

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One night his wife said, " I can make you judge again and make the other judge mad ! " She then told him that he must go to the market and buy some milk. So he went and bought it. Then she said, " We are going to invite the new judge to eat with us, and I am going to tell you something that you must say. When I hang a bag of skin filled with milk on your neck, I shall milk you, and you must make a noise such as buffaloes make." So her husband said, " Very well, I will do so."

The woman invited the new judge, and when he came to the house she began to laugh, saying, " I am going to milk my husband, but I am ashamed to do this before you ! " The judge replied, " Are husbands milked ? " to which she answered, " Yes, they give good milk, and you are going to see it for yourself."

Then the woman called her husband and began to milk him from the skin which was concealed under his clothing. The new judge was very much astonished when he saw this, especially when he ate the food which she had prepared with the milk. After he had eaten he asked the wife, " How can a husband give milk ? " to which she answered, " If you wish to be milked you must go to a street which leads to the market, and then you must take off all your clothes and begin to eat grass. When anyone speaks to you do not reply, but make a noise like a buffalo. After that you will give good milk."

So he went and carried out her instructions. While he was thus engaged the inhabitants of the town passed by and saw what he was doing. " What is the matter with you, O our judge ? " they asked. He did not answer them, but made a noise like a buffalo. Then they said that the judge had become mad, and they took him to the asylum and brought the old judge and restored him to his position.

The Two Shoes of Ḥenēn

Once upon a time there was a shoemaker whose name was Ḥenēn. An Arab came to him and wished to buy a pair of shoes, but they did not agree about the price, and quarrelled with each other, and Ḥenēn was much annoyed and desired to take his revenge on the Arab.

So when Ḥenēn learnt that the Arab was going to cross the desert he took a pair of shoes and went along the road on which he knew the Arab would go. As he went he put one of the shoes on the ground ; the other shoe he placed on the road a mile away from the first. Then he hid himself in a tree near where the second shoe lay.

When the Arab passed by the first shoe he said to himself that it was like Ḥenēn's shoe, and he left it on the ground and did not take it. He then went on his way till he found the second shoe a mile distant from the first. Whereupon he said to himself, " I must leave the camel here and go back to take the first shoe."

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So he went back. And after he had turned back, leaving his camel, Henēn came down the tree and led the camel off to his house. When the Arab returned to the place where he had left his camel he found it had disappeared, so he took the pair of shoes and went to his house. When he arrived there his family said to him, "What have you brought?" He replied, "I have brought back the two shoes of Henēn instead of the camel."

And this proverb, "I have returned with the two shoes of Henēn," is quoted when anyone returns with small things in exchange for large ones.

The Shah of Persia and his Daughter

Once upon a time the Shah of Persia had a wife who gave birth to a very beautiful girl, and then died.

After many years the Shah said to his vizier, "I wish to marry again. I have two pairs of gold bracelets, and whichever woman can fit these bracelets on her wrists shall be my wife."

So the vizier called an old woman and told her to look for a girl on whom the bracelets could be fitted. The old woman sought for such a girl, but the only one she could find was the daughter of the Shah. She informed the Shah of this, so he sent for his daughter and asked her if she wished to marry him. The girl replied, "Very well, my father, I will marry you if you can pay my price." So the Shah asked his daughter what her price would be. The girl replied, "I want you to make for me a large golden cow."

So the goldsmiths came, and the daughter made a drawing of the cow, which she represented as having an empty belly. After the goldsmiths had made the cow she ordered them to make a lock in the belly of the cow. So the goldsmiths did as they were told.

Three days later the girl took water and bread with her and entered the belly of the golden cow and locked herself into it, for she was very much ashamed at the thought of a marriage with her father.

When the Shah sent a message to her to come and be married to him they sought for her everywhere, but could not find her.

The Shah, as he could not find her, waited for three months. Then his viziers aid to him, "What is the use of the golden cow which you caused to be made? We must sell it." So they offered it for sale, and the King of India bought it and took it to his house. At midnight, while he was sleeping, the girl who was in the belly of the golden cow came out to look for food and water, for the bread and water which she had taken with her were finished. While she was looking for food the King saw her and was much astonished, for she was the most beautiful girl he had ever seen. So he took hold of her and said, "Who are you? Are you a fairy or a human being?" The girl replied, "I am a human being; I am the

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daughter of the King of Persia." And she told him all that had happened.

Then he said to her, " I will marry you instead of one of my cousins. But I am about to travel to another country, for I have work to do there. While I am absent you must stay in the belly of the cow lest perchance one of the daughters of my uncle should hear of you and kill you. I will tell my mother to bring you food for every meal and to place it before the cow. When she departs, you can come out and eat as you wish."

Before he left the King brought his mother to see the cow and said to her, " Act kindly with the cow, as you act with me." So his mother said, " Will the cow eat ? " He replied, " Oh, it will eat, and you must put food before her for every meal, and leave the room as soon as you can, shutting the door behind you, or the cow will take cold and die." And he went on his way.

At midday the King's mother cooked meat and took it with a jar of water and put it in front of the cow, and left the room quickly and locked the door. After a while the girl came out of the cow and ate a good meal. Half an hour later the mother of the King returned to see what had happened, and found that the food had been eaten and the water drunk, and she said, " I must believe my son, for the cow has eaten the food which I placed in front of her."

Now the three daughters of the King's uncle saw that the King did not wish to take one of them to wife, and they said, " Surely he has found something inside the golden cow, and we must discover what it is." A day later the youngest girl went to the King's mother and asked her to give her the cow, so that her sisters might see it. But the King's mother refused. The next day the eldest girl went to the mother of the King and asked her for the cow. And the mother did not refuse this time, for, she said to herself, " It will be a shame to refuse twice." And she gave the cow to the girl, saying, " You must offer it food at every meal." And the girl said, " Very well," and took it to her home.

At midnight they brought the cow to a special place and made a fire under its belly to melt the gold. When the girl inside the cow felt the heat she came out, whereupon the three girls took hold of her and began to beat her severely, exclaiming, " Ah, you are going to marry, are you ? We will kill you." So they made a box and put her inside it and locked it and threw it into the sea.

At daybreak they returned with the cow to the King's house. Then the King's mother cooked food and put it in front of it. And after a while she went again to see what had happened. But she found that the cow had not eaten its food as usual. So she began to cry, fearing her son the King.

Next day the King returned home, and he asked his mother about the golden cow. His mother said, " I did my best with it." At supper they

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● 539 put food in front of the cow, and the King stood by to see the girl. But she did not come.

So he ordered some of his servants to boil a big cauldron full of water and had his mother brought to him, and he said, " I will put you in this boiling water if you do not tell me what has happened to my cow." So she told all that had happened.

Then the King resolved to kill the daughter who had taken the cow from his house. First he married her. The next day he struck her severely and bade her tell him what she had done with his cow. So she told him all that had happened. Then he took a sword and cut off her head, and also cut her body up into pieces. He then put the flesh in a basket and threw it inside the house of her parents and hanged her head on the door of their house.

Now a certain fisherman came at daybreak to the place where the box had been cast into the sea, and threw in his hook to catch fish. Finding that it was very hard to draw in his line, he took his clothes off and dived into the sea and found a big box. So he took it out and went to his house, where he opened it and found in it a very beautiful girl.

The girl asked him about his business, and the fisherman said to her, " I am a poor fisherman, and I have no business at all except fishing." So she told him that she was going to weave him beautiful clothes, and that he could sell these clothes and live on the proceeds.

One day she made a beautiful cloth, weaving into it an account of all her adventures, and then bade him go and sell it to the King of India. When the King saw it and read the writing which was on it he was very glad, and said to the fisherman, " If you will bring me the lady who made this cloth I will give you a great sum of money as a reward." So the fisherman went back and told the girl all that had happened to him. Then the girl was very happy and said, " Very well, you must take me with you." So the fisherman took her to the King of India, who, when he saw her, kissed her many times, and wept. And he gave the man a great sum of money as he had promised.

And he made a feast for forty days, and when this was ended he married the Princess of Persia.

The Story of a Brick-maker

Once upon a time the wife of a brick-maker said, " O God, give me a boy like a camel ! " So God heard her prayer and gave her a son like a camel.

The king of the city had seven beautiful daughters, and they went to see this boy who resembled a camel.

When they had departed the boy said to his mother, " I want to take the youngest daughter of the King as my wife." But his mother said,

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"O my son, you are a camel. How can you marry the daughter of a king?" Then he said, "Never mind. I am going to give you a golden tray and also cups of gold, and you must go to the house of the King and enter it and give them to the King's wife. If one of the doorkeepers speaks to you give him some money, but do not speak to anyone at all."

So the woman took the tray with the golden cups and entered the palace of the King, and placed them before his wife, and then went away without speaking a word.

The next day the camel gave his mother a beautiful table with golden dishes upon it, and said, "Go to the palace of the King and place these before his wife, but do not speak."

When the King came and saw these beautiful things he said to his wife, "If the woman comes again you must ask her what she wants."

So when the woman arrived on the third day the wife of the King said to her, "What do you want?" And she said, "I want your youngest daughter to be the wife of my son, the camel."

When the King came and heard this he was very much astonished, and he called his vizier and said to him, "How can I give my daughter to a camel? We must consult together on this matter for a while."

Then the vizier said to the King, "I think that the camel must be a rich and noble man, for he sends you such precious things, the like of which your Majesty does not possess. I think he must be very rich and that you may give your consent. But first you must name a high price for your daughter; if he agrees well and good, we will give her to him; but if he refuses it will be better for you to deny him his request."

So, when the mother went again to the palace she was told that the King approved of her request, but as a war had broken out between the King and another country and he needed money and arms he required that the son should bring one hundred camels loaded with guns and rifles as the price of his daughter's hand.

Then the mother went home and said to her son, "O my son, the King has asked me for such and such things, and you cannot possibly obtain them, for we are very poor. Your father is only a brick-maker, and we live in a cottage made of *būṣ*.[1] Whence can we get these things?" [342]

But the camel said, "Fear not, O my mother. Stay here till I come back." Then he went out and brought a rope and hung it in the doorway of his cottage, and told his mother to take an end of the rope in her hand and to walk to the King's palace. So his mother took hold of the rope and started on her way.

As she went along a number of camels, over two hundred in number, loaded with guns and rifles, followed, and when she reached the King's palace she offered them to the vizier. Then the vizier told the King that the mother of the camel had brought more than two hundred camels,

[1] Dried *dura*-stalks.

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● 539 "and," he continued, "I think, therefore, that we should give her your daughter to be her son's wife."

The King followed this counsel, and sent a message to the camel that he was ready to give him his young daughter. So the camel caused a notice to appear in the papers that he was about to marry the King's daughter, and he invited some of his friends and gave them a supper. After supper they went to the King's palace and brought the bride to the camel's house.

Then the camel placed a sword between him and his bride, and said to her, "I am going to show you a secret thing." Then he took off his skin, and, behold! he was a very beautiful fairy prince with golden hair.

[262] At daybreak the mother of the bride made some nice biscuits for her daughter and also prepared a dish of macaroni, suspecting that the camel would eat it instead of straw. When she came to her daughter to offer her these things, she asked her about the camel. The daughter said, "It is a camel, my mother, not a human being," and did not tell her mother what she had seen at night.

Before the camel went out he brought his wife a gold tray on which were golden dishes full of delicious food, and he ordered her to offer her mother some breakfast, which she was to take to the King's palace.

When the King saw these precious things he was much astonished, and said to his vizier, "Surely this camel is a very rich man; he always offers us precious things which we do not possess."

On the seventh day after the marriage, as is the custom to the present day, the King and his wife took some beautiful presents to offer to their daughter. When they reached the place they found that the cottage was burned down and that no one was to be seen. But the camel had taken his wife, his mother, and his father and had gone to a distant place, where, after he had prayed to God, a beautiful palace, built of gold and silver bricks and surrounded with flowers, arose upon the spot. The palace, also, was protected by a large number of soldiers. Then the camel took off his skin and became the prince of these parts.

After a while the King and his vizier wandered about, dressed as Arabs, trying to find the King's daughter. One day they were passing near the palace when they were observed by the Prince, who ordered one of his soldiers to bring in these strange men, who, he said, doubtless were thieves. And they were cast into prison.

After three days had passed the men were brought before the Prince, and he asked, "Where were you going?" The King and his vizier replied, "We have a daughter whom we married to a camel, and we are trying to find her." The Prince asked, "How can a camel marry a girl?" And the King answered, "I gave him my daughter."

While they were thus speaking the King's daughter looked out of a

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window, and her father saw her and recognized her, but he could not speak because he was in the presence of a prince.

Then the Prince said to the King, "I am the camel who took your daughter, but now I am a prince, and God made me what you see me."

So the King was full of joy, and the Prince became king in his stead. And that's all!

The King and the Story-teller

Once upon a time there was a king who had a story-teller. And this story-teller had a son and two daughters. Three years after the birth of the youngest child the story-teller died, but before his death he said to his son, "My son, if a poor man comes and wishes to marry one of your sisters give one to him if he is a noble and honest man. But if a rich man comes and asks for one of them, and he is not an honourable man, do not grant his request."

Now one day an Arab, who was an honourable man, came to the boy and asked him for one of his sisters. The boy said, "Very well, I will consider the matter, and will give you an answer in two days' time."

During the two days he made inquiries as to the man's character among the members of his tribe. They told him that the Arab was a thoroughly good man, but that he had no house and was living in a tent. So the boy went to the man and said, "I will give you one of my sisters, but first take £1000 and build a good house here." And after the house was built the boy gave the Arab more money to buy the furniture, and also some camels.

Three days later the marriage was celebrated, and the bridegroom made a great feast for the Arabs with the camels, which he had killed.

Next a rich man came and asked the boy if he might marry the other sister. The boy replied once again, "I will send you an answer in two days' time." As a result of his inquiries he learned that the man was very rich, but not honourable.

However, he said to himself, "Nevertheless, I will give my sister to him; I will then see what will happen." So he gave the girl to the rich man, thus disobeying his father's wishes.

A week later the boy wrote a letter to the King to whom his father had been story-teller and asked that he might be taken into the royal service. When he read it the King said, "Let the boy come here, for he is the son of my story-teller."

After a while the boy returned to his own home and said to his mother, "O my mother, my father, before he died, told me never to do good things to human beings, but to be kind and do good things to dogs. He also said that I must make friends of dogs, not of human beings."

Now the King had a fierce dog, and the boy was in the habit of giving this dog a fine pie every morning. The King had also a small gazelle,

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●539 of which he was very fond. One day the boy asked the keeper of the gazelle to accept some money from him and to give him the gazelle in exchange. So the boy took the gazelle and put it in a special place and brought a keeper to look after it. The next morning the King made inquiries for his gazelle, which had disappeared. A poor man, who was living near the house in which the gazelle was kept by the boy, went to the King and told him that his gazelle was in the house of a person whom the son of the story-teller had engaged to look after it.

So the King called the keeper to him and said, "I will cut off your head if you do not tell me about the man who stole my gazelle." On hearing this the man was very frightened, and said, "This boy [pointing to the son of the King's story-teller] who is sitting beside you brought it to me one day and ordered me to look after it." So the King said to the boy, "Why have you treated me in this way? Your father was a faithful man. I will tell my fierce dog to eat you."

Then they brought the dog to eat the boy. And when the dog came it began to jump and spring up at the boy, and licked his hands and played with him, and was overjoyed to be with him. When the King saw this he was very much astonished, and said, "What have you done to my dog?" The boy said, "I have done nothing at all, but my father told me to be always kind to dogs." Then the King forgave him.

But a week later the boy wished to test the words which his father had spoken to him. So he stole the gazelle a second time, and put it in a house in the city, and brought a man whom he ordered to look after it. The King was very angry when he heard that his gazelle was again lost. Three days later a man came and said to him, "O King, live for ever! I know the man who took the gazelle. He is the boy who is sitting beside you."

Then the King said to the boy, "Surely I will cut off your head in a week's time." But the boy begged the King to allow him to return to his own house in order that he might see his mother and his two sisters. And the King allowed him to go.

When the boy went back to his home he took some presents and went to the house of his sister who had married the Arab, and he told her and her husband about all that had happened to him. Then the Arab wept bitterly and said, "Surely I will ask the King to cut off my head instead of yours." But the boy said, "Never. I will not consent to such a thing," and left him.

A day later the boy went to the house of his other sister, who had married the rich man, and told her and her husband all that had happened. Then the husband said to the boy, "You are very bad, and your father and mother are also very bad. Why did you steal the King's gazelle? You deserve the punishment."

So the boy left him and went back to his mother's house. Three days

later he returned to the King's palace as he had promised, and his rich brother-in-law and his Arab brother-in-law followed him. When they reached the palace the Arab came forward and said to the King, "O King, live for ever! you must cut off my head instead of this boy's." But the rich man said nothing. 539

Then the boy said to the King, "O King, live for ever! I will repeat three sayings to you before you cut off my head." And the King gave him leave.

So the boy began to speak, and he said, "My father gave me three pieces of advice, and I wished to test them. And the first is, 'You must do good to dogs, not to human beings'; the second is, 'Give your sisters to poor but honourable men'; and the third is, 'Do not give your sisters to rich and dishonourable men.' So I made a practice of giving a pie every morning to your fierce dog, and I stole your gazelle. Then you threw me to the dog to be eaten by him, but your dog remembered the kindness I had shown him, and he would not harm me, but licked my hands and played with me. The second saying I tested by giving one of my sisters to this poor, honourable man, and he came forward just now and wished to give his life for mine. The third I tested by giving my other sister to this rich and dishonourable man, and he blamed me much and never did me one good turn. Therefore I am between your hands, and it is for you to do with me as you wish."

Then the King said to the boy, "You are very clever." And he pardoned him and gave him a post of honour in his palace.

The Cat and the Rat

Once upon a time there was a rat that was very hungry. And while he was searching for food a cat met him. So he hid himself behind a pillar. And the cat said to him, "O rat, let us go and look after the hens." To which the rat replied, "My father told me never to trust or associate with one's enemy." Then the cat said to the rat, "My dear, I am a pilgrim, and I am wearing a large rosary, and I have made a vow to God that I will never injure any rat, and I pray all day long."

So the rat went to tell his mother what the cat had said. But his mother said, "O my son, do not go with your enemy, for your father told you never to do so." But the rat said, "O my mother, he is a pilgrim, and he has a large rosary hung over his neck, by which he counts his prayers." So his mother said, "Very well, you can go."

He then set off, and said to the cat, "It is all right, I will accompany you." Three days later the cat became very hungry, so he killed the rat and ate it.

The moral of this story is, Do not trust or associate with your enemy. [597]

181 is no question of strong and weak, rich and poor. Authority
183 and wealth count for nothing. Landowners know this,
578 and cannot take their pleasure of the village women.
562 More than one Bey has been murdered at his own door for seducing a village girl.

682 Murder and revenge among the fellaheen arise more
181 often from quick temper than from ill will ; they are signs
152 of hot blood. But such outbursts do not last long, and resignation, being more habitual, is a far more noticeable characteristic.

● [539] The following fellah proverbs are significant :
Patience moves mountains.
Patience costs nothing.
The patient man sees free.

773 'When God created all things', says Ka'b el Ahbar, according to Maqrîzi, 'He gave each of them a companion. "I am going to Syria", said Reason. "I will come with you", said Rebellion. Poverty said "I am going to the Desert". "I'll come with you", said Health. "I am going to Egypt", said Plenty. "And I'll go at your side", said Resignation.'

181 Resignation is a word scarcely strong enough to describe
183 the servility and degradation which is imposed upon the fellaheen not so much by their poverty as by the unceasing pressure of their masters. The fellah acts like a child or a brute because he is treated like one. He knows nothing of the upper class which rules him except its hard exterior. It is often said that the fellaheen cannot understand an authority that is humane and appeals to their better instincts. This is true, but the reason is that they have been brought
[681] up to nothing but blows, fines, insults, and bullying, which have finally rendered them insensible.

I myself, before I understood the meaning of human dignity, used the same harshness towards them, so natural and inevitable did it seem.

That the fellah's sense of justice is corrupt, that he lacks frankness, confidence, and eagerness is true, but this is because no-one has done anything to teach him these qualities or to give him any moral encouragement.

It is also true that his work is done without pleasure, without devotion and without style, that he has no taste for doing a job well, that he lacks initiative and inventive-

3: Ayrout M-5 (ca. 1935) 1945
MR13 Fellahin MR13
Copts MR10

APPENDIX B

DIRGE FOR A YOUNG MAN

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1. Men and women, he who is absent has a friend, a friend
Who has passed his life in tears and lamentation.
Men and women, he who is absent has a friend whom he grieves,
Whom he wounds to the heart on a day most bitter.

2. Men and women, he who is absent has a friend who weeps,
Whose heart is wounded on a day of gloom.
Oh my delight, you who are gone were like green grass
Or a young pigeon whose feathers are not yet grown.

3. They told me he was ill. I went in to see him.
He lies unconscious, and around him there is wailing.
Very ill he is, and now the illness deepens,
And even the doctor can do no more for him.

4. Please God they will be sold in the market !
Come and buy them, you who are in need !
Please God they will be sold under the hammer !
Come and buy them, you who have no children !

5. "If I am long away, you must break my pen."
Yes, and your ink-well, my darling.
"If I am long away, break pen and pencil."
Yes, and your ink-well too, my dear.

6. At the news of their death, my dress gets tangled,
And the mistress of the harem loses her wits.
At the news of their death, my clothes are in disorder,
And the mistress of the harem out of her senses.

3: Ayrout M-5 (ca. 1935) 1945
MR13 Fellahin MR13
Copts MR10

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7. The way to the church shall be strewn with roses ;
Please God they will come to me on the eve of Sunday !
The way to the church shall be strewn with jasmine ;
Please God they will come to me at the feast of the Khamseen !

8. "You do not know my agony, you who sit at my side ;
"You are in one state and I in another.
"You do not know my agony, you who sit at my side ;
"You are in one state, and I all alone in another."

9. You were well ; what has happened then ?
Did it come on in the evening, or when was it ?
When they told me he was ill, I went in to see him.
The man who was so alive is lying senseless.

10. What did you do in the hour when your soul departed ?
"I drank gall in great draughts of bitterness."
What did you do then in the hour of your soul's departure ?
You drank gall in great draughts of bitterness.

Collected in 1941 *at Matay-Bardanooha*
by E. Tewfik.

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755 life out of him. As for the Moor, whenever he noticed any
776 slackening or fatigue on the part of these two beaters, he encouraged them to keep on by saying, "The *jinnī* is about to depart. Your sick one will soon be healed by the expulsion of this cursed son of an unbeliever who rebels against the Faith."

Feelings of pity incited me to restrain the beaters from their work, but the patient's father reproached me, and told me not to interfere with what did not concern me. So I returned home, in wonderment at what I had seen.

X

"THE LODGER" (*NAZĪL*)

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● [539]
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"Said an old hag, There has come to me
A *jinnī*, who stays with me as a "lodger,"
Come ye to him, and come again soon,
That he may cure your sick!"

A CERTAIN old hag will assert that a *jinnī* keeps her company, and is like a husband to her. He reveals to her knowledge of the unseen and informs her about all the medicaments that the sick require. There is one such who is famous, an old wife in the Province of Buḥaira, in the village of Ḳahūḳīya, and there is another in the village [p. 28] of Umm Ḥakīm. The former has surpassed the latter, because her *'afrīt* (whom she names Shaikh Sīd Aḥmed) is very pious. Women come to her from all directions, and bring her presents of money. (The money of course which is brought to the Shaikh, is called a *present*, not a *payment*). The procedure is, the "old wife" enters a darkened chamber, locks the door securely, and remains in it for a short time. Then she returns to her clients with some drugs, which she asserts her Shaiṭān (or devil) has requisitioned from remote districts and distant lands by means of his "assistants." She tells them to take these medicaments

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the molten lead was brought, she took it, and after placing a vessel containing water upon the head of the patient, began pouring the lead therein. But Allah ordained that the vessel tilted a little so that the stream of lead fell on the patient's neck and face, and caused wounds which were the cause of disfiguring her for ever afterwards. But the strangest bit of it is that, when the lead fell on her face and the poor girl began to scream and cry for mercy, the "old wife" said to the mother, "The screams you hear are those of the *jinnī* on coming out."

XVI

[p. 40.] THE MEASUREMENT OF THE ATR[1]

"Hark to the words of a hag
To her patient whose sorrow has departed:
'Our Lord the Shaikh has come
To measure your *Atr* for you.'"

THE monopolizers of this variety of absurdity are the *Faḳīhs*[2] of villages and towns, and the *fellāḥīn* have a true belief in it, without any question of doubt. When one of them is ill his people send his *Atr* to the *Faḳīh* (or *Fiḳīh*) along with some coins (which they call the Shaikh's bribe [*rashwa*]).

[1] [The *Atr* (in classical Arabic, *Athar* = vestige, track) is any article of personal property belonging to the sick person, which is taken to the sorcerer in order to assist in "curing" the owner. Generally a handkerchief is used for the trick. The quack ties a loose knot near the end of the handkerchief, and then measures a span with his hand. He grips the other end with his other hand to mark the spot. By a surreptitious pull he can lengthen the space a little between the knot and his hand. Then on a second measurement it is found that the distance has grown, which is indicative of a speedy "cure" and prolonged life. Naturally this is only done when there are chances of the patient's recovery. On the other hand, when the case seems hopeless, the quack safeguards himself by saying that the *Atr* is against him, but that a charm may do the trick. Miss Blackman (p. 185) has a mention of something like this use of the handkerchief but does not give this manipulation which was graphically explained to me by a *Shaikh* from al-Azhar University. Tr.]

[2] [Generally poor village schoolmasters with a minimum of education. The colloquial form is Fiḳih. Tr.]

And as for the manner of releasing the "Tied", it is as
755 follows: One of the quacks, whom we have mentioned,
787 measures the *Atr* [see f.n. above, p. 40] of the one who is "*tied*" by the ropes of illusion, and shackled with the chains of worthless beliefs, and says to him, "There is something written against you on a piece of bread which has been eaten by a fish in the sea, and it is not possible to release you from your trouble unless by obtaining this fish." Then he describes to him the appearance of this fish from his own imagination, and asks him for a fine sum for bringing it to him in a few days. When the time comes he brings a fish in his hand in whose mouth he has placed the piece of bread with the letters written thereon, and delivers it to the patient who, when he has opened its mouth and seen what it contains, thereby helping to confirm the statement of the "prescriber," he begins to be cured little by little because of his belief that he would be cured of his illness when he attained [p. 42] his prize, namely, the above-mentioned fish. But there is no doubt that the whole thing is a trick. As for the "prescriber" or "spiritual sage" he has already obtained his fee.

842 Sometimes it happens that the wife of an elderly person dies,
918 after he has exceeded the bounds in procreation for some time, and he marries another wife, only to find that he has no longer the power of procreation, so he repairs to the swindlers who either take the opportunity to cheat him, or "prescribe" for him certain tonics such as ambergris, and other pungent substances such as black pepper (*fulful Sūdānī*), and a powder made from the penis of the crocodile [p. 43] and so on. But all these are of no avail unless to diminish his wealth, and his reason, and his health (if he had any). He is not aware that the time of his youth has passed.

●[539] "How far away is the time of youth to one turning back;
Yes, and there is no fear of old age to one going forth."

For Time has assailed him with its burden, and it was most essential for him to spend the rest of his life at ease, protecting his health from the influence of diseases, caused by his previous
931 incontinent behaviour. For there is no more injurious thing for the body, nor one more destructive of life, than sexual indul-

4:Walker E-4 (no date) 1934 MR13 Fellahin MR13
(ca. 1890)

Barrenness, they believe, sometimes arises also from the entering in unto the mother of a woman who has weaned her child. The " cure " in this case, according to their statement, is for the barren woman to carry a rag of wool wet with the milk of a woman who has recently weaned her child.

XXIII

THE ḲARĪNA

THE Bedouins name this the " Heat " (*Ḥarāra*). This name is used generally for the class of diseases of the throat (the original symptom of which is difficulty in breathing) such as diphtheria (*khunnāḳ*) and convulsion and drying up of the uvula, and the like. The " prescriptions " of the " old wives " are self-contradictory in regard to its " cure." Some of them think that the correct thing is cauterisation [p. 49] of the child upon its frontal and terminal crown (*yāfūkh*). The child, however, finds relief from their folly, inasmuch as there is soon set up inflammation of the brain (meningitis), of which it dies.

" And he who does not die of cautery will die of something else ;
The " prescriptions " are many but the death is one."

Others again hold to the belief in replacing the cauterisation by scarifying with a razor instead, on both sides (front and back). This is the method followed by the Bedouin. The Arabs of Mariūṭ and al-Ḥāgir instead of all these, bore two holes in the child's ears through which they pass a thread of red silk. The " old wives " have different absurd theories as to the cause of this disease in children. Some of them claim that every male child has a sister (*ukht*) among the Jinn,

4:Walker E-4 (no date) 1934 MR13 Fellahin MR13
(ca. 1890)

The manner of the act was (for the *Shaikha*) to go with the unfortunate woman, whose husband had been turned from her, to a region far from sight where the " operator " (*mushabshiba*) dyes her face and her hands with a black substance and puts on black clothing, and lets her hair down upon her shoulder and grasps in her hand three fruits. Then she takes the " patient " (*mushabshab lahā*) by her side and burns incense, placing in it *ḥashīsh* and *'anzarūt* (or *Anzarūt*)[1] and *mansir* (?) or *mānistir* (?) and *faḥīsala* (I do not know its real medical name). Thereafter she says:

Yā 'afārīt yā 'afārīt	Oh, Spirits ! Oh, Spirits !
Yā ginn al-gibāl	Oh, Jinn of the Mountains !
Yā sukkān al-buhūr	Oh, dwellers of the seas !
Yā 'ummār al-burūr	Oh, inhabitants of lands !
Yā bu'ād fi'l-barrīya	Oh, far off folk in the desert !
Yā ḳātilīn al-darrīya[2]	Oh, slayers of offspring !
Yā mukhālifīn Sulīmān	Oh, oppcnents of Solomon[3]
Yā mubarṭi'īn fi'l-widyān	Oh, gallopers in valleys !

I cry to you. Come to me, and help me with the stars of the sky.

Then it is said that the atmosphere becomes dusty and the day is changed to night, and the darkness becomes intensified, while she continues her spell, saying:

Good evening to you, oh, stars of evening ! Oh, yellow ones like apricots ! I have smitten him with three fruits (*thamarāt*) smite ye him with three live coals (*jamarāt*). (Thereupon she names the person in the case, and casts the fruits upon an image [p. 5] of the person made of clay which is in front of her). One ember will come upon his eyes so that he will see none but her [i.e. his forsaken wife]; and an ember upon his tongue so that he will speak with none but her; and an ember upon his ears so that he will listen to none but her. Good

[1] [Gum of a thorny tree that grows in the mountains of Persia. See the *Tadhkara* of Dā'ūd al-Anṭākī, s.v. According to Dozy, *Supplément aux Dictionnaires arabes*, it is *trifolium odoratum*. Tr.]

[2] [i.e. *al-Dharriya*.]

[3] [These are the Jinn who, according to Moslem legends, were forced to assist King Solomon in his works of magic. Tr.]

4: Walker E-4 (no date) 1934 MR13 Fellahin MR13
(ca. 1890)

this case the supernatural does not enter under this definition." To-day they have brought forward theories seeking to convince their readers of their truth. In reality, they are not the first fruits of their civilisation, nay, the Arabs of Pre-Islamic days said so thousands of years ago. And they say that Ḍaḥḥāk al-Fihrī, one of the petty kings of the Pre-Islamic days killed during one of his raids, three daughters of an old seeress. So she made to appear on his back as a punishment for that, a spreading ulcer with a fierce itch which could not be soothed unless by the application of human brains [p. 9] upon it. It was not long until the ulcer opened its mouth and swallowed its food. And if Ḍaḥḥāk was slow, a voice shouted from the ulcer: Bring my food! or if not, I will slay you! On account of this he destroyed a great number of his subjects. They explain that it was so because the seeress did what she did in the body of Ḍaḥḥāk in order to be avenged on him, first by punishment, and lastly by his death at the hands of his subjects, a great number of whom he destroyed.

There is also the well-known story of 'Abīd ibn al-Abraṣ[1] with the serpent who was burning with thirst and he gave him water to drink. Then it appeared to him after two days in the form of a camel, when his own camel had gone astray, and he recited to it the well-known poem, part of which runs:

> "Goodness survives even if the time be long;
> But Evil is the worst thing with which to provide yourself."

In short, since these pagan tales were not certified as true, and since the *Shabshaba* and the experiments of Spiritism were accompanied by the use of narcotic substances (for we have seen that *ḥashīsh* formed a part of the incense of the *Shaikha Khaḍra*; and the Italian M——— says in his treatise on Spiritism that consorting with women and indulging in debauchery, and using *ḥashīsh* and intoxicants all help to produce at once wonderful spiritual results) then we say that perhaps the matter has been confused in the mind of the experimenters. Thus they think their imaginings are real, and they distinguish

[1] [A well-known Pre-Islamic poet at the Lakhmid Court at al-Ḥīra. Tr.]

4:Walker E-4 (no date) 1934 MR13 Fellahin MR13
(ca. 1890)

except in Allah! I charm you and seek to enchant you from my eye and the eye of your mother, and your father, and the eye of the people who "envied" you. I charm you and seek to enchant you even as Mohammed charmed his she-camel. He placed for her fodder, which she tasted. She had been refactory; she became docile."

Strange to say, I saw an "old wife" who, during the charm, was moving her hand in front of the eyes of the "Envied" and his sides. And she was yawning, and influencing him until he was yawning too. She did not stop this until the "Envied" poured with perspiration and slept during the charm. It is a method somewhat resembling magnetic hypnotism. The truth of the matter is that it suits that ailment, because it is successful, as we said in Part I, page 78, because of electric magnetic influence.

VI

THE CHARM OF 'ĀSHŪRĀ'[1]

At the new moon of Muḥarram every year you see people going about the streets carrying on their heads salt, or sugar or coriander (*kuzbara*) or some other things. These are called *Raḳwātīya*, from *Raḳwa* a charm. Women and young men invite them to perform this charm. So they enter houses and place the salt and the coriander upon the fire and utter the incantation [p. 18] as follows:

Oh, fine salt! Oh, chaste substance!
Your mother is free; your father, fine!
Incense the coverlet that protects you from shoulder pains!
Incense the chicken lest it eat and die!

[1] [The '*Aʿshūrā*' is a Moslem fast day (voluntary) observed on the tenth of the month Muḥarram. The sacred character of this date has already been referred to above, Part I, p. 84. Tr.]

4: Walker E-4 (no date) 1934 MR13 Fellahin MR13
(ca. 1890)

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Incense the mattress [*ṭurrāḥa*] that brings you rest !
Incense the spoon from the eye of Muṣṭafā's mother !

Then he says :

My incense is fine stuff from the eloquent Prophet !
My incense is such and such from Our Lady (Zainab) ![1]
My incense is bewitched from Sīdī Barka.
My incense is received from Sīdī Madbūlī.[2]
My incense is Jāwī from Sīdī 'Aḥmāwī.
Sindās, oh, Sindās ! Oh, Mursī ! Oh, Abū'l-'Abbās ![3]

Then he returns to the beginning and says :

Lo the eyes of the maiden are like cutting swords ;
And the eye of the baker is hotter than fires.
Lo, the eyes of the water-carrier bring healing from Allah.
Lo, the eyes of the girl are hotter than a javelin ;
But the eyes of the lad are more protective than a coat of mail.
Lo, the eye of the carpenter is sharper than a nail.
And the eye of a woman is keener than a scythe.
The eyes of a neighbour, fascinating and fickle,
Act with complete deception, saying :
Thou, oh, my neighbour ! wast praising Allah and grateful.
So remove the accursed thing from the home of this poor woman
That leaves her mourning.
Destroy the palaces and populate the graves.
I have incensed this basket from the eye of [p. 19] the mother of Ḥanna.
I have incensed these steps from the eye of the mother of Sālim.
Incense these mice lest they take the bread and send it to neighbours ![4]

[1] [Granddaughter of Muhammad. Tr.]
[2] [Well-known local saint in Cairo. Tr.]
[3] [Saint in Alexandria. Tr.]
[4] [The interpretation of these rhymes is largely conjectural, if not sometimes impossible. The Arabic text which is unvocalized is an unsatisfactory attempt to render the Colloquial Egyptian doggerel in terms of the defective Arabic script. See plate 4. Tr.]

8: Schaefer
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MR13 Fellahin
Upper Egypt

[For the native text of Fellahin songs, see category 116, pp. 1-148.]

9: Klunzinger D-5 (1863-1875) 1878
MR13 Fellahin MR13
Upper Egypt

CHAPTER III.

WORKING DAYS AND HOLIDAYS, DAYS OF JUBILEE AND DAYS OF MOURNING.

WORKING-DAY LIFE OF THE COMMON PEOPLE.

In Upper Egypt the life of the ordinary inhabitant of the towns is passed in a simple and uniform manner. Before sunrise he leaves his couch, performs the morning ablutions enjoined by his religion, and repeats his early prayer. To say his morning prayer after sunrise is forbidden by the ordinances of his religion, and to allow the sun to rise above one's slumbering head is universally regarded as prejudicial to health. He then drinks his cup of coffee and smokes his pipe, either at home or in the public coffee-house. His breakfast, which he takes after his coffee (though sometimes before it), consists of the remains of his meal of the previous evening, or of cakes and milk, or for a trifle he procures from the market the ever ready national dish of *ful*, that is, stewed beans. He then engages in his vocations, buys, sells, writes, works, or moves about, all in the most comfortable, quiet, and deliberate manner. "What is not done to-day may be to-morrow"—in good Arabic, *bokra in shah Allah* (to-morrow if God please)—stands written on his forehead in large letters. The most urgent affairs leave always a quarter of an hour free in which to gossip with acquaintances over coffee and a pipe, be it in retail-shop, workshop, or office. And if many acquaintances turn up the more numerous grow these quarters-of-an-hour. Now and again he has no work, or no desire to do it, and then he drags himself from one friend to the other. Bread for himself and his family will no doubt turn up; *robinna kerim*—"the Lord is gracious (or liberal);" it is but little he requires, and in case of necessity his soft-hearted neighbour will not allow him to go supperless to bed. Even before the mid-day call of the muezzin from the minaret, he

[pp. 1-157 not processed]